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HISTORY

1692  
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OF THE

DECLENSION OF THE GREAT REPUBLIC

OF THE

UNITED STATES,

WITH

EVIDENCE OF ITS IMPENDING FALL.

Vol. 1.



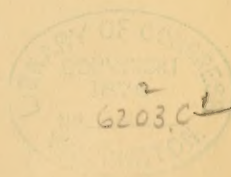
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## NOTE.

Many will notice that there are several translated works from which facts have been quoted where the names of the translators are omitted. It is desirable to state that such errors were made in copying from the original draft. Those works to which reference is made are authorized standard translations. Where the size of book in the notes is not mentioned, 8vo. *et infra* are to be understood.





VOLUME I.



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## PREFATORY REMARKS.

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In submitting the title of the following pages to the public, the author is aware that it is liable to encounter the settled prejudices of a certain portion of the people. He well understands that the past history of the republic, and the anticipated glory of its rising greatness, are dear to the feelings of every true American. Its institutions, the noblest and farthest advanced in civilization of any ever in existence, have closely interwoven themselves with the sympathies of every person who has a home in this particular portion of the New World.

But why should such prejudice exist against a work written expressly to prevent a final catastrophe? Why should patriots close their eyes to the fact, and deign not to examine a question of such momentous significance? Does it tend to precipitate a downfall? Would the declaration that an individual must perish unless the disease with which he is afflicted be neutralized, be detrimental to the patient? Is it not directly opposed to a premature ending, and somewhat adapted to render life more probable? Shall we be

oblivious of truth that we be not pained by the contemplation of error? It is no evidence of wisdom, it is no proof of attachment to refuse to investigate the nature of those unnatural conditions which tend to remove a beloved object. Our pride of self should not be more sensitive than that of virtue. We should not be so callous to the one as to become insensible to the other. Shall the fearless indifference of the Stoic, shall the negative asperities of the Cynic, lightly and summarily dispose of the welfare of a great people? Shall the question be ignored, be postponed till evils are remediless? Shall these trivial considerations blindly permit us to pass over curable difficulties until their immensity impels a Livy to direct our attention to the "structure of" our "ancient morals," (viewing its decline) "at first, as it were, leaning aside, then sinking farther and farther, then beginning to fall precipitate until he arrives at the present times, when our vices have attained to such a height of enormity that we can no longer endure either the burden of them or the sharpness of the necessary remedies." Is this the wisdom that ought to be exhibited by the posterity of those few revolutionary colonists, who converted one-half of the globe into republics, and for a time seriously threatened to reverse the political map of Europe? A passive insensibility under contemptuous feelings is accessory to the evil, and contributory to our overthrow. Late may become *too* late, that which is curable become incurable.

But very few can trace their lineage farther back into the earlier days of the republic, or have their feelings and



interests more identified with its past history and its future prospects than the author. His interest and happiness, as much as those of any other, depend upon its prosperity, his sorrow and mortification upon its fall. It was, therefore, not for the creation of capital, pecuniary nor political, it was no feeling of malevolence, no evil desire that prompted the author to point out the dangers which threaten the freedom of the land, and indicate the nature of those foreign elements which are rapidly decomposing the most vital principles of the republic. Individuals whose characters remain untarnished by the corruptions of the present generations, cannot be indifferent to the fate of the ship of state when it is in danger of becoming a wreck from the fury of the elements.

Those chapters which relate to the Carthaginian, to the Hebrew, and to the Grecian histories, were written to expose the errors of our present system of education, as the same, though more limited, attended those remarkable powers during their infancy, maturity and decline. The author felt that the subjects discussed in them could not be omitted so long as their tendency contributes to remove the republican qualities from the masses of the nation. To suggest this, and hint at an application more properly adapted to their limited scope, limited, as at present it is, to the religious and to the intellectual life, as will appear from perusal, was one of the immediate, although subordinate, objects of that portion of the work.

Whether this attempt to control and direct our national

life by additional culture, as unfolded in the general introduction, be successful or not, it depends, in my opinion, on the action or the inaction of the people. But whichever this may be, it is certain that we cannot continue to progress very long in that direction which has hitherto marked our national career. It is well known to all educated minds that the constitutions of governments must be molded into conformity to the moral condition of the people. And what is that moral condition in the United States? Can any one say that it is very flattering? Every individual, who, by nature and acquirement, is enabled to comprehend the principles of civil government as applicable to the mental powers, is no less astonished than saddened at the great amount of corruption which is continually springing up around him. And sadder yet it is when to this thought is coupled the fact that if there should be a complete change in the people there must follow one in the civil government. Although a strong centralized government may be better adapted to control the vile, it is not necessary to influence the actions of the just, nor desirable with them.

The fall of the republic is one of the most greivous misfortunes which an American can possibly anticipate. Unlike the huge and overgrown monarchies, which were erected by the brutal qualities of man in the earlier ages of the world against the interests of the people, it stands to-day without having had a peer in the institutional features of its organization, the most gentle, the most just and the most enlightened. Should it continue another century, it is altogether

probable that no despotism will remain in Europe. If it fall, if fall it must, in important epochs, the event will be only second to the general judgment of mankind. It belongs to you, Americans, to say if the principles of equity shall cease, and the world be remanded back into those barbarous relations which beclouded the white races in the middle ages.

If the following pages make some contribution, however small, to check the progress of evil by directing the attention of our people to the subject of decline and the necessity of reformatory measures, the author will feel rewarded for the labor he has bestowed upon them.

EAST ROCKPORT, OHIO, October 6, 1875.



## CHAPTER I.

### GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

**Preliminary Remarks—Advance of Science—Backwardness of History compared to Advancement of the Sciences—Present and Past Condition of European Civilization—Of the Faculties of the Mind.**

THE uses to which history can be applied, depend upon the treatment of the subject and the capacity of the reader. A connected narration of the events of nations merely, may amuse the feelings of such readers as are unaccustomed to reflect upon the great laws which govern society, but can force them to make little advancement, except in a limited intellectual view, upon those regretful conditions which existed in the past. The students of history, with very few exceptions, have studied only those branches of the subject which fall within the knowledge of the external senses. Their ultimate object has been to treat of the wars between independent states, of the overthrow of nations, or of the fall of dynasties. But as little preparation to intelligently understand the tendencies of the human mind and the influences

to which it is subjected by external objects, has been made by historians, their productions partake of the same character, carrying the reader no farther than to a detail of such facts as tend to enlarge his learning, by generating in him a memory of particulars, to inflame his passions, to produce feelings of joy or of sorrow, of indignation or to impress discouragement on him at the depravity which man has continued to exhibit through an unbroken series of ages, teaching him the vanity of struggling for those things which are sure to be soon swept away by the rude nature of conquerors, or by the storms of revolution.

All branches of physics have been reduced to science, and progress has been made in them, which, had even such attempts been put forward three centuries ago, would have been overcome by the fanatic incredulity of mankind. Those phenomena of nature which were once considered inexplicable, are now fully explained and understood, and those who sought to understand them by their investigation, as guilty of great rashness, impiety and folly, are now at least exempted from political persecution. Nor have spirits of scientific tendency been satisfied with knowledge thus acquired. The curiosity of the world has explored the sepulcher of the prince and the peasant of remote times and countries in pursuit of information, resulting in partial restoration of languages



long since lost to human memory, and cities which, during their thriftiest growth, freighted with living inhabitants, by convulsions of nature, like man himself, had gone to their graves without monuments to mark the site of their burial, have been disentombed to satisfy this curiosity of man in the present of the condition of man in the past. And while the laws of life, those of birth, growth, sickness and death are studied from a scientific base with something like becoming accuracy, and the days of man thereby prolonged; while the elements of nature, by knowledge of their laws, have been subjected and applied to the ease, comfort and convenience of man, little progress has been made in the study and application of history to subserve and promote, in like manner, the interests of the race. Diseases of which man formerly sickened and died are now rendered harmless by application of therapeutics; and by an understanding of those laws which control organic life applied to ossifrage and other injuries to the person, which injuries once, by the backwardness of science, would have been considered as fatal, are now regarded as of trivial moment. Most everything which falls within range of the intellectual faculties of the mind, but history itself, has been reduced to, or is approaching, a condition that is in conformity to a scientific mold.

In very few instances, and most recently at that, some works of extraordinary merit have appeared, contributing very much to bring history forward in one or two particulars to that standard of knowledge which, in other branches the white and semitic races have been enabled to reach. What avail is it to mortal to read a long detail of events made up of the momentary happiness or lasting calamity of nations? What lessons of wisdom do we derive by learning, for example, that the republic of Rome ceased to be when Cæsar triumphed over Pompey in the civil war, and that the republican rights of the masses were sacrificed by the selfishness of the successful competitor, unless we understand the causes which for several generations had been gradually producing the result, and making the conquest of freedom by absolutism possible? The student learns what followed the civil war and some facts relating to it which preceded it; that many of the patrician families were false to the state and to each other; that there was a general corruption among the people, a deterioration from the founders of the city and the conquerors of the world; but farther than this no inquiry is made. Thus he stops with a knowledge of those facts which fall within range of the external senses. But those causes which corrupted the masses of the nation and thrust the nobler sentiments in

subordination to the viler passions, and thereby made the career of Cæsar more than a possible necessity, are never studied and mentally digested. So that should the same combination of evil causes be in active life in any contemporary nation, its inhabitants, even its learned, its professionals, politicians and statesmen would not perceive their quiet but productive operations till, by the striking similarity of new troubles to old characters and events, they should, after the loss of their freedom, in the exuberancy of surprise, discover that for a long time nine-tenths of their countrymen had been afflicted with those moral disorders which, in diverse countries and ages, produced their fruits in giving birth to the treachery of Napoleon and the treason of Cæsar.

Should the causes which degenerated the republics and constitutional governments of antiquity be known to mankind as plainly as the events which mark their beginnings and their ends, those causes, under a healthy regimen of public thought, might be somewhat directed, partially diverted, or totally avoided. But we are met at the very threshold of the question with the voluntary statement that they can never be known with sufficient certainty to warrant general adoption and action. It is the least considerable feature of this objection that it savors strongly of

that stupidity, superstition and ignorance which obstructed the progress of knowledge, and disseminated darkness throughout Europe during the Middle Ages. There was a time, no doubt, when this allegation might have been held with some approach to truth; but since many of the questions of inquiry, to which was once presented more of a forbidding, more of a formidable opposition from the superstition of mankind, have been thoroughly systematized, and thereby erected into sciences, the philosophic historian has but to become acquainted with these that he may know, by their proper application to any given nation, the progress it is making toward a healthy maturity or a sickly existence, and, of course, an early decay. It is, therefore, by an understanding of political economy, mental philosophy, physics, statistics, laws of life, climatic influences and the causes of the degeneracy of nations, that furnishes the key to unlock to the student the decline or progress that any nation of mankind has been forced or enabled to make.

If it be true that Europe has been advancing in civilization for the last three centuries, it can be only claimed as an intellectual one. If man now be apparently less harsh in the exhibition of his feelings than formerly, it is to be attributed mainly to his greater vanity and education. It is in consequence

of having been changed by several causes, not essentially in nature but in manner, from the coarse cruelties of the Middle Ages to the refined barbarisms of the more modern times. Man, since the beginning of the Reformation, has advanced, it is true, but partially so only. The reasoning powers of his mind have increased in strength and made positive progress in the knowledge of those laws by which organic life and external objects are controlled. But while this part of mental life has thus progressed, a part, also, has remained in that condition in which it existed during the unbroken reign of the Papacy. Education has changed man in expression, has given him more of a smooth exterior, but on the whole, he has made no very considerable advancement in ridding himself of those barbarous feelings of which, eighteen centuries ago, we find him to have been composed. Although this backwardness of the moral nature of man cannot be directly attributed to defective historic methods, this moral portion would, nevertheless, have come forward with his intellectual, had history been made to improve as science advanced.

As everything treated of by man, of an historical nature, has fallen under the head of effects than the causes of effects, the natural order of things on this subject has been reversed. Hence the great



degeneracy, as we shall hereafter discover, which man has suffered in different ages, should no more excite our pity for his calamities than our surprise at his stupidity. Had his attention been directed to those causes which produce ethical qualities, he had been somewhat fortified, and I may say, in proportion to his industry, possessed of the power to shapen their tendency, to direct the whole mind, and to control the national as well as the individual life. The neglect of these truths has, I venture to assert, overthrown his liberty and deprived him of that happiness which a permanent prosperity is sure to produce.

Republicanism springs from those moral elements which desire justice and carry it into individual acts, acts by which all are equally privileged before the law, in which all are equally taxed to support the government. When these primitive elements in the majority are diminished in quantity, justice ceases to characterize the acts of that majority, under the well known law that effects bear a due proportion to their causes. If this has long been the case, even for a quarter of a century, in an age like the present, when everything tends to rapid development in strange and startling combinations, with any government of mankind, it is greatly declining in power,



is careering to its fall, notwithstanding it may present such deceptive appearances as extension of territory, growth in wealth and great acquisition of military glory. Greece, Carthage and Rome, the most renowned republics of antiquity, exhibited as great heroism, self-sacrifice and military sagacity as historians have of other nations recorded, the first in the Peloponnesian, the two last in the Second Punic war. Yet the first, upon the close of the struggle, surrendered its liberty and became a slave; the second, accepting the fire and the sword of the Roman soldier, ceased to be. The last, very soon after the close of a war which gave her universal domination, was transformed into a despotism, and the Eternal City, instead of continuing the abode of contentment and might, became the receptacle of every species of vice and crime and hence not only the happiness but the comfort of the people also was expunged. By the conquest of Carthage, (which, although mainly accomplished in the Second, was not completed till the Third, Punic war,) she was raised to universal supremacy; her independency was secure, and none could hopefully offer successful opposition to her aggressive claims. But in this, as in many other instances before and since, it was equally a descent of the conqueror as well as the conquered to a condition of moral wretchedness which must have placed

the contemporary moralist in utter despair. Although she had conquered the world and placed her independency beyond question, she had lost her freedom. Although Rome had achieved a formal triumph over the political states of Asia and Africa, their vices had subjected almost every portion of her people, in the very heart of the republic. Her domination over them was nominal, while theirs over her was real. While they left her the honor or odium of claiming universal dominion, they enjoyed it. Although the formal independency of Grecia, Asia and Africa had been extinguished, Rome had been subdued by the vices of the South and the East.

The imperial, which succeeded the republican, form of government in Rome, seemed to be more of votary to the vices of the eastern world than an originator of them. Public crimes and private vices, being practised in the upper, rapidly spread to the lower, classes, through that imitative genius which the human mind has never failed to exhibit in all climes and countries. The three universal monarchies, which had ruled over Asia, had effectually expunged all ethical principles from the people; and Rome under the Cæsars was enabled, by similar methods, to produce the same results of moral sterility in the inhabitants of Europe. As the primitive faculties of the mind are innate, those

cultured into active life gave character to the people, and for several generations before the fall of the republic and the empire, robbery, theft, adultery, treason and murder were the barbarous characteristics which bore rule over all tribes and nations. As far as the effects to the corrupt are concerned, we may feel almost a total indifference to the calamities which their corrupt course of life may have produced upon them, yet when we come to consider that vice and virtue are alike descendable from generation to generation, from age to age; that also we inherited the tendencies which the Roman people had to vices, more fully than did Rome those of Asia and Africa, it may be made as much a matter of concernment to know what we received as whence we came.

Human progress has been about the same at all periods; political and pecuniary prosperity preceding and accompanying a moral decline; and most nations, which have fallen, have been overthrown at or almost immediately after the most prodigious exhibition of their powers. This ought to teach us that national is as frail and uncertain as human life. It teaches us the sad lesson that to-day we may have the most buoyant hopes and joyous feelings at the glory to which our nation has arrived, but to-morrow, comparatively, be called to shed our tears and offer our

prayers in vain over her mortal remains. It warns us that the vast edifices, the numerous temples of liberty which have been planted by the people of "The Great Republic," in the various portions of the land, may, long before another century shall have been added to the age of the Christian era, be dismantled by the ambitious, by the profane, and the material of which they are composed be enrobed in the moss of decay and moldering into dust.

We are usually deceived by those indices of external conditions, which pertain more to apparent than to real prosperity, such as multiplication in people, in wealth and in territory; whereas it is known to all mankind that riches tends to corrupt its recipients; that very extended dominions more completely drain the treasury, in erecting fortifications, building harbors, railways and otherwise developing the resources of the country; and that in cases of insurrection or invasion complicate the action of government in their defense; and again, as the inhabitants become corrupt their greater number becomes more of a standing menace to the symbols of republican life, by giving rise and activity to dissenting factions, than protectors of its form. The mind in practical life, being so constantly called to contemplate effects, seldom dwells upon causes, and hence views only the apparent and not the real. It is

I say, these deceptive appearances which have misled man in his estimates of political prosperity in republics. When we behold the acute ingenuity of mankind culminating in astounding discoveries and inventions, we are very apt to conclude that we are in a state of progression. This, so far as intellectuality is concerned, may be correct; in it there may be progression, but it should not be forgotten that republican and constitutional governments do not arise from the intellectual but from the moral primitive elements of the mind.

As most of the American people are eminently skeptical, their minds reject tolerably well ascertained facts and events, adopting instead thereof the theoretical views of speculative thought. To an unbounded hope is joined a courage almost as unlimited, silencing those warnings of caution, which are produced by the legitimate and natural language of surrounding circumstances. From such condition of mental organization is generated a recklessness that enables individuals to defy the worst possible phases of co-ordinate evils, giving those individuals capacity to slumber in peace and quiet on the brink of nascent revolutions. Hence, national calamities presented to their understanding meet a critical antagonism that is strongly tinctured with the vindictiveness and scurrility of Warburtonianism. As doubt on general



questions is a fundamental characteristic, a tendency ensues that is predisposed to dispute the truths of things which, to a mind of circumspection, appears evident to the senses. Hence, American mind disputes all questions and forces proof. Whoever, therefore, desires to call public attention to impending national troubles, if he wish to effect a reform to avert calamities, is necessarily compelled to bring forward rigid evidence to support his declaration. Of this we do not complain, but it may answer as explanation to the inquiry why the following pages were brought into existence.

It is not our design to enter upon an elaborate discussion of mental philosophy, but to such extent only as we think should be devoted to it by the requirements of the case, and the space limited to ourselves in the treatment of the subject. We shall use, whenever occasion requires, the nomenclature of the Gallian philosophy, as it does, in our opinion, correspond better with the primitive faculties of the mind than any other with which we are acquainted.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> In this view we feel supported by Auguste Comte, one of the ablest thinkers of modern times. In his great work he says: "Among the innumerable objections which have been aimed at this fine doctrine, considered as a whole, the only one which merits discussion here is the supposed necessity of human actions. \* \* \* Gall has fully and clearly exposed the powerlessness of metaphysical methods for the study of intellectual and moral phenomena; and in the present state of the human mind, all discussion on this subject is superfluous. The great philosophical



The reflections of the following pages, in so far as those pages relate to the united or to the independent action of the faculties, are based upon it as it was left when it came from the hands of Dr. Spurzheim, in an improved condition.

There are conditions of individual objects which are called by philosophers the secondary qualities of matter. These, for the benefit of the general reader, may be known as configuration, quantity, color and impenetrability. The secondary qualities of matter are not immediately cognizant to the thinking powers of the mind. They are taken into the mind and there impressed that instant the eyes rest upon them. It is empirical with every individual that at a glance of the eye he has an immediate impression of the size, color, form and resistance of any given external object. The impression is as instantaneous as the action of light, to the rapidity of which it appears to be in just proportion. The mental faculties which take cognizance of the secondary qualities of matter, whatever they may be, when acted upon by external objects, are in a condition of passive receptivity. The images impressed upon these faculties by objects

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cause is tried and judged; and the metaphysicians have passed from a state of domination to one of protestation, in the learned world at least, where their opposition would obtain no attention but for the inconvenience of their still impeding the progress of popular reason."—POSITIVE PHILOSOPHY, 330 and 382.

of the external world are not immediately presented to the reasoning faculties, although the inceptive action of the latter and the final of the former appear to be simultaneous.

The faculties of reason require time for their operation, while the percepts do not.<sup>2</sup> With the latter, the effects produced upon them by external objects occur in time, or otherwise those faculties could have no existence; but they do not require a prolongation of time to receive impressions from without. Everything in the organic world is dynamical in its primitive nature, requiring time for composition or decomposition, extension or contraction, the faculties and organs of which it is possessed being subjected to the same general law.

Reason and perception frequently occur so as to mislead the mind into the supposition that they are compound operations derivable from a single source or faculty. But the former succeeds the latter, that is, those faculties which, by their action give rise to reason, direct their operations upon the impressions produced upon the perceptions from without. Therefore, the former cannot begin before the latter has terminated. If reason require time and perception do

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<sup>2</sup> The faculties whose peculiar province is to take cognizance of the secondary qualities of external objects are termed by phrenologists perceptive faculties.

not, they cannot be derivable from the same faculty exercising different functions. If, also, the reasoning faculties are not, *in the first instance*, cognizant of the secondary qualities of matter, they have no direct relative knowledge of the external world. They receive their knowledge secondarily, and, therefore, their knowledge is not directly relative, being furnished with the data by the operations of other primitive powers.

The perceptions cannot be identical with instinct, for the latter is a feeling which has terminated its actions, while the former are effects produced upon faculties which are destitute of emotions.

Judgment is the determinate action of those faculties whose peculiar province is to reason; and are called by the disciples of Gall, Causality and Comparison.

The Consciousness of Sir William Hamilton is not cognizant of the secondary qualities of matter. It has no knowledge of things from the external world, and depends not on its own action. Consciousness is the condition of one faculty after the action of that one faculty,—the impression produced upon that faculty by its own operation, and does not have existence till after that operation. It is not a primitive faculty.

Man is possessed of fundamental moral faculties, which, to me, occur as best represented by the names

of Conscientiousness and Benevolence.<sup>3</sup> These moral powers are among the most important faculties of the mind, and in the past, have either been overlooked or entirely misunderstood.<sup>4</sup> They are designed to render one individual just in all his relations with another, and give him feelings of compassion at the misfortunes of others. They suppress fraud, cruelty and oppression. These faculties are feelings.

He has fundamental religious faculties, which may be known by the terms Marvelousness and Veneration. These appear to be designed to render man credulous in the works of Providence, and reverential toward His laws and the attributes of His being.

Man is also possessed, to a high degree, of fundamental faculties, which endear him to his family and

<sup>3</sup> It is to be understood that no reference is here made to anatomy.

<sup>4</sup> As to the comparative superiority of Dr. Gall's method over the psychological, Auguste Comte remarks: "As to the doctrine," psychology, "the first glance shows a radical fault in it, common to all sects,—a false estimate of the general relations between the affective and the intellectual faculties. However various may be the theories about the preponderance of the latter, all metaphysicians assert that preponderance by making these faculties their starting point. The intellect is almost exclusively the subject of their speculations, and the affections have been almost entirely neglected; and, moreover, always subordinated to the understanding. Now such a conception represents precisely the reverse of the reality; not only for animals, but for man also; for daily experience shows that the affections, the propensities, the passions, are the great springs of human life and that, so far from resulting from intelligence, their spontaneous and independent impulse is indispensable to the first awakening and continuous development of the various intellectual faculties, by assigning to them a permanent end, without which—to say nothing of the vagueness of their general direction—they remain dormant in the majority of men."—POSITIVE PHILOSOPHY, 384.

all those friendships formed in the social circle or around the hearthstones of his fireside.

There are primitive selfish sentiments or faculties.

There are also primitive mental powers which exercise the functions of reason, constitute "that god-like intellect" about which we have heard too much; no more "god-like" than any of the instruments of the affective faculties. They constitute the instrumentality by which the moral, the religious, the domestic, the selfish and the animal primitive powers of the mind accomplish their ends.

He has, as has been implied, in common with other portions of the animal creation, primitive animal faculties or propensities. They are designed to render man executive, or destructive, as the occasion may require; bold, acquisitive, secretive, efficient, enterprising and industrious. Man has all the faculties of which the animals below him are possessed, and many more which they have not.



## CHAPTER II.

### GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

Brief Allusions to the Organization of Mankind into Political Bodies—  
Reflections upon an Earlier Age, and the Purity of Man in a  
Primitive State.

LITTLE is positively known as to the exact period of time when government first had its beginning, or the precise locality of its origin. Although we have the history of the Hebrews, it does not furnish satisfactory evidence regarding the condition of governments, or of the organization of mankind into political corporations, preceding the birth of Abraham. But from 2000 B. C. to that epoch their history makes known to us, by the relation of their own events, something of the constitutional nature of surrounding states then in existence. The Egyptian monarchy was, at the birth of Abraham, a highly civilized power, and in the zenith of its glory. “The very first among the descendants of Noah whose individuality and personality is clear to us—the very first whose doings can be brought



into relation with events otherwise known or recognizable in the history of man—is introduced in a manner which reveals the fact that different races of the human family had then already been long established and widely spread. The memorable and mysterious journey which brought Terah into Haran on his way to Canaan, was a journey beginning in that ancient home, Ur, already known as ‘of the Chaldees.’ And when his son Abraham appears upon the scene, we find ourselves already in the presence of the monarchy of Egypt, and of the advanced civilization of the Pharaohs.” And again, “the most moderate computation, however, carries the foundation of that monarchy as far back as seven hundred years before the visit of the Hebrew patriarch.”<sup>1</sup> Before the birth of Abraham’s immediate progenitor there is no recorded history that is at all credible. Yet this pristine history of the Hebrews acquaints us with governments which had reached a high state of civilization. Beyond this history of the Israelites all that we know or can know must come from the reasonable conjectures of mankind, as the sciences of geology and archæology

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<sup>1</sup> Primeval Man, by Duke of Argyll, page 82; see also the opinion of Josephus on the length of time which elapsed from the building of Memphis by Menes, king of Egypt, to the beginning of the reign of king Solomon, making a period of twenty-three hundred years before Christ. Also the history of Abraham in Genesis.—ANTIQUITIES, liber 8, sect. 2, chap. 1.

furnish little aid, in consequence of the contradictory nature of their primitive state.

Before man was subjected to monarchial power, before he had been organized into any form of government such as is related by the Jewish patriarch, Moses, he lived in some manner not wholly known to us. Governments arise from necessity, are forced into existence in consequence of a corrupt state of morals. This period in which man existed before governmental organization is generally known to mankind as the primitive age. In this age it is generally believed that a pure despotism governed mankind. That the sex, the individual, possessing the greatest physical strength, controlled the actions of the other. It, however, is altogether probable that no despotism existed at all. That doubtless, was the manner by which warriors afterwards became great chieftains, and subjected their fellow-men to a subordinate condition. We believe it is nowhere contended that man was as venal, and if he were less corrupt, he was the more moral.

Man in these early days lived under the influence of the natural action of the fundamental faculties of the mind; and as his moral, religious and domestic feelings were in about equal proportion, and perfect in the production of legitimate moral principles, there is reason to believe that he was just.

It has been supposed, and very correctly, too, that man is the happiest when in the enjoyment of the greatest number of his mental faculties ; that is, when all are in the discharge of their legitimate functions. Before they had been perverted, before an undue stimulus of a portion over those of others, and before those overstimulated faculties had been reduced to a condition of debauchery by long-continued perverted action, he was in the full possession of every portion of his being.

In this primitive condition, man was not subject to those abnormal relations in the external world which produced their results in subsequent times, and now mark his character. With him no gorgeous liveries were flaunted in the eyes of mankind while their owners were in a condition of financial bankruptcy. He lived in no showy and extravagant palace, beyond the capacity of his means, but according to the requirements of his needs. He was no member of a popular church, professing a belief in Divine revelation and the accountabilities therein contained, while he privately endorsed the development theories of a pantheist. He had not the income of thousands, which he uselessly expended on imposing church establishments, while the poor were starving for want within the precincts of his residence. He did not subsidize the corrupt for political preferment. He pandered not to institutions

of vice, nor to the lust of avarice, for the purpose of establishing a constituency, when it contributed to undermine the liberties of his country and to effect the enslavement of his race. He did not appropriate the false notions of a degenerate age, because they were popular with the masses, when those notions tended to disorganize society by presenting the characteristics of duplicity as an example for imitation to rising generations. He did not suborn legislative minds for the passage of laws made suitable for the success of his financial schemes. He did not defraud his government of its revenues by the thief-like importation of goods, through which was built up the largest mercantile fortune in the metropolitan city of his country. He planted no factory under his residence to intoxicate mankind by the sale of its productions, and defraud his fellow-citizens, avoiding the discovery, and thus the visits, of revenue officials by the secrecy of its locality. His noble qualities prevented him from falling into the nothingness of the ape. He did not endorse the sentiments of powerful political parties, because they rewarded his services by the cloyment of his ambition. He was no contemptible sycophant, cringing to those in power for patronage. Orgasm had not arrived at that degree of progression which impelled one sex to forever blast the happiness of the other, violating the obligations of the marriage compact

by the continual recurrence of incontinency, and culminating in the belief, among many of mankind, as it did with the pure and philosophic Essenes,<sup>2</sup> that no woman "preserves her fidelity to one man," and vice versa. He was not a professed Christian, attending divine service with a sanctimonious countenance, while the nature of his stock-jobbing rendered him doubly meaner than the robber or the thief. He did not wink at the depravity of others, because he himself was guilty of fraud. He did not cultivate the fellowship of the dishonest rich, because of those riches, and reject the same of the honest poor. He did not embezzle the funds entrusted to his charge. In short, he did not make rascality and deception points of scientific attainment, but appeared what he really was—a candid man, and a nobleman of nature.

What ruled in this early age of the world, when every faculty of man's soul was in the discharge of its legitimate functions? Was it the animal powers of the mind, that do in our own age? If he were not rich, he did not study out the method by which he might become so by fraud upon his fellow. He was not engaged in the occupation of human bloodshed until the days of tribal government. His wants were few and easily satisfied, spending his time in the promotion

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<sup>2</sup> Wars of the Jews, lib. 2. chap. 8, sect. 2.



rather than in the perversion of the natural laws, by which he was kept within the effects of those faculties which produce the greatest happiness and the most lasting blessings. Could it have been "barbarism" that ruled primitive man, as its elements, in a softened sense, do us? Was it not rather those great human attributes, those moral laws of justice and of kindness which were instituted by Providence in the beginning, and will continue to the end, of the world; and as we, as individuals, as societies, and as nations, have attempted to pervert them, and shapen them to our own short-sighted purposes, they have invariably involved us in our own ruin? Every nation, almost without exception, that has terminated its existence from the year one to the close of the eighteenth century, has fallen by a suicidal hand. Perversity to the laws was the immediate cause of its extinction.

Man in the primitive age was in an independent condition, bound to no political rules, and to no regulations. No combinations of individuals required a partnership to the profits arising from his industry, which was no sooner obtained than squandered in the oppression and slaughter of his fellow men. His was a self-government, free and not dependent; free from all debasing appetites. There were no centralized organizations so solicitous of his welfare as to curtail his liberty. He was independent



because he owed no obligations to a complicated and arbitrary government.

Wherever there is a strong government there is just as strong evidence that a large portion of the people have a propensity to violate the rights of others. Under such circumstances monarchical rule must be maintained. But a free government cannot well exist in a land where an absolute polity has been the form to which the people have been accustomed. The reason is obvious. By its long establishment it has, in a measure, stilled free thought and inquiry, checked the mutual expression of principles that arise from equity and the spirit of independence. The practical effect of despotic tenets erases from the mind of the subordinate class all notions of self-government. Accustomed to being controlled, instead of controlling and keeping self within moral restraint, they know little or nothing about government in a condition of liberty. Having become habituated to corruption and misrule, and to the contemplation of outraged morality from birth to middle age, mind yields to impressions of prevailing evil. The habitude of mind to the impression of such criminal pleas as potentates foster, soon extinguishes moral elements from the masses. From generation to generation the operating causes are

the same, dealing mortal blows to man's higher nature, the people in each succeeding half century inheriting a greater predisposition to crime, until virtue, as a controlling power, is entirely driven from the empire of mind. The bad conduct of the higher is imitated by the lower, and the views and habits of persons eminent for wealth, for birth, or for distinction, are readily appropriated by the nation.

The ruled in despotic governments do not concern themselves to know whether the course taken by the executive be a just one. As monarchical powers subsist on selfish principles, and as also after long continuance they are productive of the same elements in the people at large, the probability is that the feelings of the nation would in time become entirely engaged with material, social, and political consequences. After these influences have weighed upon the mind for a couple of generations, the nation essentially becomes a menagerie, exhibiting naught but animal qualities. When a thirst for gold has taken hold of the people, there is little thought of but wealth, and nothing else respected. Respecting nothing but riches, for the rich only is legislation. After the whole nation has, in this manner, exerted those faculties common to the animals till the effect on character is complete, there is no true representative of that nation but selfishness. If the power

be an electoral, or an hereditary, one, the result is the same. The laws, therefore, enacted by a legislature, or by a crown, partake of the character of the people and of the times.

If the elements of morality are not fundamental, then there are no such things as truth, justice and compassion within the comprehensibility of finite mind. But as it is generally conceded that there are moral faculties, it must also be conceded that they are adapted, by inherent constitution, to a superintending scope. As also all the other faculties are appointed to determinate functions, the moral were designed, or adapted, to predominate over the others, and thus direct the life. .

There is no effect without its cause, and I think we may rationally conclude that whatever there is, which is an attribute of man's nature, it is an effect, the cause of which resides in the mind, and not educated into it through the intellectual. All men are possessed of the same number of faculties, although not in equal degree of development. Few are prepared to deny that justice and benevolence are intuitive in man; they are peculiar feelings, their great development proper to man only. If man's moral feelings are derived from innate faculties, we are warranted in drawing the conclusion that the present man drew these primitive causes from his genetic predecessors.

So that as he received the primitive causes of mental qualities from no other source than from hereditament, he must be possessed of the same faculties to-day that he was in the primitive ages.

When we read the first creditable records, and find that monarchical governments were already established, of which mention has been made, our attention is attracted by a state of things which corresponds less to a primitive than to a fallen condition.<sup>3</sup> So that the situation in which we first find man was one which already surrounded him with those external causes that tended still more to widen the departure. From this time forward, except in few instances, the course of mind was directed less toward a restoration than toward a degeneracy.

The idea that man once held a moral status is what we here wish to impress upon the mind. Although we claim no more for it, in this place, than conjecture, we think it to be altogether probable, and in a subsequent portion of the introduction will expose some views in outline, which, when carried out, will, we feel assured, establish the position beyond controversy.

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<sup>3</sup> I think it may be fairly considered from the following passage, that the most enlightened ancients believed that monarchical governments had no existence until after man changed, in his mental qualities, from a primitive state. Sallust alleges that "reges (nam in terris nomen imperii id primum fuit)," \* \* \* that is, centralized power by organized governments.—SALLUST'S CONSPIRACY OF CATILINE, by Charles Anthon, page 79.

## CHAPTER III.

### GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

The System of Education in the United States one of the Causes of the Moral Degeneracy of its People—Its Defective Nature having Extinguished the most flourishing Governments of Modern Antiquity—Evidence of its Demoralizing Tendency from Grecian and Carthaginian States—Intellectual and Moral Qualities of the Lower Classes of the Carthaginians, compared with the same of the Lower Classes of the Greeks—Rise and Tendency of Philosophy—Its great effect upon the Intellectual powers—Comparison of the Moral and the Intellectual Condition of the Educated and the Uneducated Greeks—The Great Depravity of the former and comparative Moral Supremacy of the latter—The Rapid Development of the Propensities under influence of Greek Education, and consequent Extinction of Hellenic Freedom and Independence—Education too limited, not too extended—Being limited to the Intellectual, to the Religious and to the Animal—It becomes, indirectly, one of the Main Causes of the Disappearance of Virtue from the majority of the People of “The Great Republic”—Republican Governments dependent on Moral Principles—The method of Restoration and Preservation of the latter disclosed.

THE system of education now exclusively pursued, except a culture of the religious faculties, is the only one that ever was in vogue. This system has never addressed itself to any other portion of man’s mind than his intellect. The strengthening of this by discipline has received the almost undivided attention



of the whole world, in all countries in which prevailed what is popularly termed "civilization," subsequent to the extension of philosophy from Greece. Public educators still pursue the same method without any departure, although they well know that the period of metaphysical domination has passed away—a system which dealt wholly with the reasoning powers of the mind, and with them only. There is not a system different from this in any institution of learning and education now in being. It absorbs the attention of mankind at the present as much as in past ages, with only this difference, that it has been extended to greater multitudes. Some of the ablest apostles of this erroneous system have, of late, given expression to their views, to fasten still closer upon the feelings of the people that which, to this time, has never been opposed. The following is a rehash of it, to which all public educators give a firm endorsement:

"Since civilization is the product of moral and intellectual agencies, and since that product is constantly changing, it evidently cannot be regulated by the stationary agent, because, when surrounding circumstances are changed, a stationary agent can only produce a stationary effect. The only other agent is the intellectual one, and that this is the real mover may be proved in two different ways: first, because being, as we have already shown, either moral or intellectual, and being, as we have also seen, not



moral, it must be intellectual ; and secondly, because the intellectual principle has an activity and capacity for adaptation, which, as we undertake to show, is quite sufficient to account for the extraordinary progress that, during several centuries, Europe has continued to make."<sup>1</sup>

That this doctrine is false in theory and most disastrous in practice, we shall now proceed to show, not by thought-out notions, but by a parallel history of the lower classes of the Carthaginians to the same of the Greeks, and finally, by comparison of the educated with the uneducated classes of the Hellenic states. This can only be wrought by an investigation into the intellectual and moral qualities of these classes. If we are able to prove that the lower classes of Carthage were more cultivated than the same in Greece, and if also we afterward prove that they were less moral, it will necessarily follow that the virtue of any nation does not depend upon the intelligence of its people. If, moreover, we are able to establish, by comparison between the two (the educated and the uneducated) classes of the Greeks, that their educated minds were depraved in proportion to the culture which they had received, it will place this question beyond controversy, that if the discipline of the intellectual powers does not directly contribute to the

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<sup>1</sup> Buckle's *History of Civilization in England*, vol. 1, pages 130 and 131.

overthrow of the moral sentiments, it cannot be held that it is productive of their elevation. This is all we seek to prove, and that, we think, by incontestable evidence.

All that can be gathered of the intellectual education of this branch of the Phœnician race, from the remains of Carthaginian literature, is very narrow indeed. We shall have, therefore, to rely on writers of contemporary nations. And again in them even the facts, upon which the investigator has chiefly to depend, are not readily furnished to his hand, as the historians of the age in which this government existed were rather chroniclers of battles, sieges and wars, than commentators upon the character and condition of those peoples upon which they pretend to treat. Carthaginian literature perished with its people. Being deprived, therefore, of perusing the details of a Carthaginian in the history of his own country, and also not fully able to determine these facts of civilization directly from Roman and Grecian authors, we shall be compelled to discover the moral and intellectual condition of this republic from those collateral relations which it bore, during its long existence, to other powers. This review shall be a short one on the Carthaginians.

Soon after her colonization, Carthage built the foundations of her strength and glory on the ruins

and fallen liberties of other African states.<sup>2</sup> She brought into governmental subordination the wandering tribes of the northern portion of the continent, and taught them the application of those natural laws to husbandry, to a more scientific extent, than that which was carried on by her less civilized contemporaries of the East and the North. This sagacious people foresaw that their pupils would be rewarded pro rata to their application to the pursuit; this depended altogether on the predisposition of these nomades for the acquisition of earthly goods.<sup>3</sup> For this element of the mind it has long been observed that no people are more remarkable than the uncivilized. The intelligent mind subordinates this appetite to the conditions of his wants, for the sustenance and

<sup>2</sup> "The case with Carthage was entirely different. Built on the edge of a large quarter of the globe, whole warlike nomades afforded, for pay, numerous armies; and almost surrounded by countries without a master, she could conquer, and soon found it her interest so to do. For the first time, therefore, history shows us a free and commercial state, whose greatness was founded upon foreign possessions acquired by force of arms."—HEEREN'S HISTORICAL WORKS, vol. 4, page 22.

<sup>3</sup> "This line of conduct was planted in the spirit of the aristocratic government, where such maxims so easily become hereditary in the ruling families, of which history gives us such evident proof as to leave no doubt of the fact.

"This" intermixture "answered the double purpose of maintaining their authority and improving the connection and intermixture with the original inhabitants, which, as we see, produced the Liby-Phœnician race. No state in the ancient world, probably, understood or prosecuted on a larger scale the colonial system than Carthage."—*IBID.*, pages 18 and 23.

"In this way Carthage preserves the love of her people. She sends out colonies continually into districts around her, and by that means makes them men of property."—*ARISTOT. OF.*, page 252.

education of his family. But the more uncultivated portions of the human race have always been remarkable for possessing strong greed for whatever relates to the value of property without much regard to the uses to which it can be applied. The Carthaginians, foreseeing that one nation cannot introduce a half-civilized people into industrious pursuits, so that the state can draw a revenue from them without first planting with them the elements of prosperity, made them thoroughly acquainted with the principles of agriculture, first regarding it themselves as the most honorable employment in which man can be engaged. The first families of Carthage, as well as of Rome, were agriculturists, many of whom were the greatest military and political characters of the state.

In the settlement of lands belonging to the republic, the Carthaginians caused an intermixture of their own race with the inhabitants of those tribes which they had subdued and planted as colonists. It requires no stretch of the mind to understand the effects,—that there would naturally be a spirit of competition and strife for those advantages which result from riches. Accordingly the forests which contained arable land, and which before had been the retreat of wild beasts, receded before the ingenuity of this energetic nation, afterward becoming the source from which she first drew the principal part of her

support and a considerable share of her wealth. Neither Greece nor Rome, with all its boasted superiority of intellectuality, presented an example of the like mental reach, first buying the territory on which she built her city then defrauding the vendors out of its value, subordinating them into peaceable citizens and afterward causing them to become attached to the state. An example of like success cannot be found in historical records. There is no nation of modern Europe, or of America, which effects so much for its poorer classes as did this republic for the first conquered tribes of Africa. The Carthaginians seemed to have connected the interests of these subordinated nations so closely with their own, by marriage, special legislation and other acts of similar effects, as to make the welfare of the state an object of regard and veneration.

She did not make this her policy with Sardinia, Sicily and Spain. And herein lay her weakness, but it was toward the closing hours of her existence. By not carrying into effect, as part of her policy in the conquest of these territories, those partial moral principles in their practical application to independent states, after they were subordinated to her power, she converted them into so many enemies, who hated her as a nation and earnestly desired its termination. Spain was principally conquered by her



to serve as a base of operations in a second war which she then meditated against Rome. She had lost, by the first Punic war, her possessions in the island of Sicily, and therefore could not use it as a military station from which to proceed. Besides, had she attempted its reconquest, it would have brought on the second war with Rome at a time in which the latter would have been as well prepared as herself; this she wished to avoid until she had a veteran army, subordinated the whole of Spain and shaken the fears of the Gauls. Having accomplished these, she could draw her stores, raise her armies and attack the Roman power at a time when she would find it destitute of military provisions, of disciplined troops, and powerless before a victorious enemy. She had, by the conquest of Spain, possessed herself of rich mines to supply the exchequer in payment of troops, and for the seventeen years which the second Punic war lasted she drew her funds mostly from these mines to defray expenses. By the wealth which she drew from this new source, she was enabled to emancipate her subjects in Africa from the burdens of the war.

Although Rome lost, in different battles, several consular armies, and was threatened with subjection, Carthage in the end was brought to the position of a dependent slave. After the conclusion of the war

the petty princes of Africa, who had formerly been chiefs of tributary states, daily insulted a capital of seven hundred thousand inhabitants. No person can charge Hannibal with the responsibility of this war, as his acts were ratified by the nation, when the Roman embassy visited the capital of that celebrated nation immediately after the taking of Saguntum.<sup>4</sup>

Carthage's equitable treatment of the first subdued people of Africa, surrounding the capital, was to her as much a matter of necessity as one of justice, as she could not repose the foundations of government upon those turbid elements and civil commotions which are generated by corruption and fraud in the governing power. As a state constructs its political fabric in partiality, in favor of one portion of the inhabitants and in suppression of the rights of the other, so may be measured the term of its existence. For it is

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<sup>4</sup> After Hannibal had attacked Saguntum, a Roman embassy was dispatched by the senate to enquire if this movement of their general were at the orders of his government. After the senators of Carthage had treated this embassy in the most insolent manner, their speaker concluded his reply to the Romans by saying: "'Cease, therefore, to talk of Saguntum and the Iberus, and let your minds give birth, at length, to the burden of which they are long in labor.' The Roman [Quintius Fabius] then folding up a corner of his robe said: 'Here we bring you peace and war: take which you choose.' Which proposal they answered with an equal degree of peremptory heat, calling out that he should give which he chose. He then threw open the fold again, and said that he gave them war. They with one voice replied that they accepted it, and with the same spirit with which they accepted it, would prosecute it."—TITUS LIVIUS' HISTORY OF ROME, lib. 21, paragraph 18, Baker.

a necessity that such should terminate itself. The causes of its own destruction are planted in its constitution, as the principal and most powerful element of which it is composed. These inequities, sooner or later, must work the ruin or subversion of any government so constituted, and from them there is no escape. The first Carthaginians were acute enough, in their understanding, to comprehend these causes and effects upon the civil institutions of mankind. Those distant generations, however, which followed in time the founders of the republic, were more corrupt, and consequently their legislation corresponded to their moral condition. A long time had elapsed from the building of the city to the conquest of Sardinia, Sicily and Spain. And we find, as we pass from the first to the last ages of the republic, there was a proportionate degeneration in the morals of the state. As Carthage advanced in age, in wealth and in the conquest of the earth, the abilities of her statesmen diminished in the comprehension of first principles. Although she was acute and mostly outwitted her contemporaries, the depravity of her citizens blinded the nation to the comprehension of elementary law; her wisdom permitted present triumph, but insured future defeat. This was true in her policy at the close of her career. It may occur to the understanding as something remarkable

that as a nation becomes enriched, refined and accomplished, it at the same time recedes in intellectuality. But the intellectual faculties are instruments by which those faculties which are possessed of feelings work out certain results satisfactorily to their quality and condition. For without a moral nature there can be no comprehension of questions involving moral principles, however great may be the intellectuality of any given nation. In proportion to the atrophy of the former there is, correlatively, an inability to discover equities in legislative laws. Therefore, as these, the most important faculties of the mind, disappear, there arises a certain intellectual weakness, a certain incapacity to comprehend great questions, which, when not properly controlled, frequently involve a whole people in interminable ruin. Wherefore, as we approach the last days of Carthage and discover her corruption, we at the same time find that as her statesmen were promoting measures which they supposed would extend her dominions and forward the supremacy of her power, they were combining elements into such an antagonism as wrought her self-subordination, and in the end, her total extinction.

Had Carthage not bought and sold the offices of state, by the good or ill administration of which a political body becomes permanent or endures a

political death ; had she not made riches and military skill a test of public approbation ; had she not substituted the worthless value of a base metal for the nobler qualities of man ; in a word, had she not exalted vice above virtue in every manner, she could not have been conquered by the combined powers of the earth, and would have survived the wreck of nations in the ancient and middle ages. Standing upon the records of the past she would be an apt representation of well known effects which follow as a blessing to all who obey those eternal principles which control the moral universe.

The inhabitants of Carthage, in its earlier days, foresaw these causes and effects, while their distant successors did not. The former built for endurance, while the latter lived, not to preserve, but to destroy. A nation which is thus able, in the policy of her legislation, to forecast the causes of permanent prosperity and secure it to herself, exhibits a comprehensiveness in first principles that is far from being common, even now, (with all our boasted progress,) to the nations of the earth. But the first institutions of Carthage fell into other hands in more degenerate days, and were finally extinguished by the maladministration of their rulers.

Neither Greece nor Rome manifested such capacity in its treatment of the tribes and nations not of its



own origin but subjected to its power. The earlier inhabitants of Carthage discovered greater sagacity than any nation of antiquity, and even outwitted all contemporary powers. Greece, during the reign of Alexander, entered upon her campaigns apparently for no other purpose than the mere capture of cities and the conquest of nations. Nor can there be gleaned from his wars any other motive than that vanity which flatters the conceit of a weak and dissolute prince.<sup>5</sup> Greece gained nothing by these wars but the hatred of all mankind. Although her soldiery derived plunder, the nation acquired no more than implacable enemies filled with revenge. Yet the lower classes of the Greeks cannot be charged with the responsibility of Alexander's wars, as they were not the willful acts of the nation. They themselves had attempted to resist the authority of his aggressive policy, but were finally reduced to servitude by his cunning and unprincipled ambition. During his foreign wars they were slaves to his empire; his will was the highest law and they were forced to obey.

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<sup>5</sup> The Sythian ambassador spoke very judiciously when he addressed him in these words: "What have we to do with thee? We never once put our feet in thy country. Are not those who live in the woods allowed to be ignorant of thee and the place from whence thou camest? Thou boastest that the only design of thy marching is to extirpate robbers; thou art, thyself, the greatest robber in the world. This is Alexander's exact character, in which there is nothing to be rejected."—ROLLIN'S ANCIENT HISTORY, vol. 1, pages 601 and 602.

Upon the death of Alexander his kingdom answered to the four quarters of the globe by falling into as many great divisions. These became independent states, each one of which, being composed of a great number of different races, habituated to a variety of customs, in manner of living, language, thinking, government and religion, that it was next to impossible to reconcile the discordant elements and conciliate them into such an uniformity as is necessary to give firmness and steadiness to the political and social composition of a nation. So, therefore, the whole Asiatic world, with Greece, having been subjected to a war of twelve years duration by a royal desperado with his dupes, slaves and victims, were now to undergo a worse one, if possible, waged by contending factions which were themselves generated by those special creatures of war—duplicity, crime and barbarity.

The double infamy produced by the severe education that the intellectual faculties of the higher classes of the Greeks had received, reduced all ranks into vassalage to the same elements in the Macedonian princes. The uneducated and non-commercial grades of Greece were the only repositories of virtue; becoming, in the first instance, victims to a defective mode of intellectual development; in the second, and depending upon the first for active vitality, they were made

helpless dupes to the selfish principles which actuated Philip and his successor in their illusory careers. With the lower classes of Carthage it was entirely different. More enlightened in their understandings than the same among the Greeks, they very quickly perceived and adopted the false, the double attitude which their higher orders had cultivated for more than two hundred years before their political organization was extinguished. How much, or whether at all, to a certainty, the civil wars in the Hellenic states had injured the moral qualities of the masses, cannot be very accurately determined; but it is certain that as they were constantly the objects of deception, they were not sufficiently steeped in corruption to detect the false position which their educated guides were able to maintain.

Although Greece was the source of speculative thought, her higher classes were possessed of less political foresight than those of Carthage. By the defective policy of the Greeks they became slaves to one of their own number, while the Carthaginians came very near being masters of the whole world. The campaigns of Alexander subjected the conquered territories to his own interests, while those of Carthage were spoils of which all partook.

After a careful review of the conquests of Greece and their final end, one can deduce no real advantage

which resulted to its empire, neither to its exchequer, to the morals of the people, nor to the stability of the state. But on the contrary, it became a prey to internal dissensions, external wars, a depleted treasury, unimproved morals, and, as far as relates to the external relations of the people, to the victorious arms of faction.

While the first few generations of Carthage, from six to eight centuries before Christ, possessed barely enough virtue to comprehend moral principles, the people of Greece at the corresponding time maintained great endowments of it. As much as the former were fallen below, the latter were raised above, the average morality of the age. With the superior intelligence of the former, although they possessed less morality, they were enabled to see deeper and broader into nature's unvarying principles than the latter. It is, therefore, concluded that as the Greeks possessed generally greater faculties of a moral nature to found state constitutions in equitable laws, we should find with them, had they the same amount of intelligence, peace, permanence and wealth, with no civil commotions at home and no wars abroad. Such, however, was not true. They were constantly at war—that is, the different states were almost perpetually at war with each other. The Peloponnesian war lasted twenty-seven and a half years,

terminating in the subjection of Athens to the authority of Lacedæmon.

It was not long before the military strength of Carthage was increased to such degree as to compete with Rome for the supremacy of the world, that the Ionic, the Pythagorean, Eleatic, Atomistic and Socratic philosophies had their birth in Greece. After the establishment of these, reason began to dawn upon the mind of the Greek. But speculative thought never did extend itself to the people at large. A few only were enabled by the study of philosophy to develop their intellectual powers, the masses remaining in a totally uncultivated condition. If the masses could read and write, the reasoning powers were not enlarged by close application to such subjects as tended to develop their strength. Perhaps it would be making a large allowance, before the Peloponnesian war, to say that one to the thousand derived any benefit from the study of philosophy. There were no public or private schools spread over Greece authorized to teach philosophy; only now and then one sprang up at various times, and somewhat at distant periods.

The Ionic philosophy, founded about 650 B. C. by Thales, was little studied, and less understood than that of the Pythagorean, which shortly after succeeded it. The latter had but little hold upon the intellectual portion of the mind, but so well addressed itself to the



general tendencies of subordination in this age of the world, as to be readily received and adopted by the masses. Almost the whole of this philosophy was a myth, and this accounts for its popularity. It is said that its founder pretended to raise the dead and work other astounding miracles. His instructions were indoctrinated with the absurd superstitions of the Egyptian priesthood. But the philosophy of Thales was barely known, so little so, that scarcely anything now remains of the doctrines he taught. Had it been extensively studied, it had been as extensively preserved, as no people of antiquity exhibited greater care in the preservation of their moral and intellectual status, than the Greeks.

Thales endeavored to discover the primary or original source of the organic world by a rational method. However irrational this may occur to us, it had at all events, strong tendencies if followed, to strengthen the intellectual powers, and this is all we claim by our present enquiry into the various philosophies of Greece.

The study of the Pythagorean doctrine, as we cannot call it a philosophy, tended more to enlarge those faculties which produce religious characteristics, than develop the primitive faculties of reason. The basis of his natural philosophy was an absurd myth, numbers, and could be supported by no process of

reasoning which would call the intellect into vigorous activity.

The Eleatic existed as nearly contemporary with the Pythagorean, both at or about 500 B. C. It was a departure from the latter by a modification of it. Anaxagoras was nearly contemporary with Xenophanes, and was the first who established any system of education at Athens. But this, after it had operated upon the intellectual powers for many years, was abruptly brought to a conclusion by the ostracism of its author. His doctrines directly engaged the intellect in vigorous activity, and soon expunged superstitious notions from the mind of the student. This system of philosophy did not accord well with the marvelous tendencies of the uneducated, and he was compelled to fly from Athens, having been accused of profanation and impiety to the gods.

As for Empedocles, he pretended to be a prophet, claiming that the operations of the natural laws could be arrested by the Divine power which he had authority to represent. It is unnecessary to say more of him and his teachings than that one, who is so disordered in his mind, or so infamous in his character, as to lay claims to such transcendent power, is unfit, in the organization of his mind, for philosophical investigation. Both Empedocles and Pythagoras, in this respect, were in one and the same category. The

extreme development of the feelings of superstition with great imagination, or the strong inherent qualities in their mental being of selfish exaltation above all other earthly mortals, silenced the expressions of the moral sentiments and the lights of reason. But we have no information that Empedocles was extensively engaged in teaching philosophy. The doctrines of Empedocles, as also those of Pythagoras, tended not so much to enlarge the understanding of the Greek mind, as they did to distract, and thereby destroy all energetic concentration of the mental powers, and thus prepare the way for the establishment of that atheism upon their ruins, which characterized the higher classes that immediately preceded the Peloponnesian war.

Protagoras has the reputation of being the founder of the Sophistic school of thought at Athens, where he taught his erroneous principles and from which he was expelled by the masses. He was driven out by the populace on account of his doctrines being destructive, as they supposed, of both systems of government, the moral and the divine. His philosophical conclusions, although rejected by the lower, were adopted by many of the higher classes, and became the practical rule of their lives in religion and in manners. Although Protagoras was a teacher of morals as part of his system of instruction, the

general scepticism of his philosophy, denying all future accountability, rendered his doctrine of ethics unpopular with the main body of the nation. Besides the moral instruction which he was said to have given must have been of a very doubtful character.<sup>6</sup> But the successors of Protagoras traduced the principles of their master, substituting for morality doctrines wholly selfish in nature.<sup>7</sup>

The Atomistic, which preceded it by about twenty years, and, in part, had given rise and life to the Protagorean, seemed to combine with it in destroying those elements of the mind, fear on the one hand, and the feelings of justice on the other, the only foundation of moral government in the mind of man. The Atomistic philosophers derived the origin of the organic world, both mental and material "from an originally unlimited number of constituent elements, or atoms," which are constantly changing in respect to form, but not in quality. This derivation of the organic world, of the animal and phrenic life, became

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<sup>6</sup> Schwegler says that a part of the Sophists "openly taught the right of the stronger as the law of nature, the unbridled satisfaction of desire as the natural right of the stronger, and the setting up of restraining laws as a crafty invention of the weaker; and Critias, the most talented but the most abandoned of the thirty tyrants, wrote a poem in which he represented the faith in the gods as an invention of crafty statesmen."—*HISTORY OF PHILOSOPHY*, p. 50.

<sup>7</sup> "The later Sophists, with reckless daring, carried their conclusions far beyond Georgias and Protagoras. They were for the most part free thinkers who pulled to the ground the religion, laws, and customs of their birth."—*IBID.*

the prevailing belief of the learned classes, and they accordingly decreed their own existence, not from the creative power of a Supreme Being, but from the combined operations of the natural laws upon certain properties of matter. While the lower classes were almost totally ignorant of this negation of all punitive conditions under the natural laws in time, and the supernatural in eternity, the educated portions, principally through these false philosophies as contributory causes, and regarding everything as expediency rather than as morality, became abandoned, no longer believing any kind of laws obligatory upon them, and were in consequence fallen into a corruption almost incredible with the Greeks.<sup>8</sup> At the time of the Peloponnesian war, the uneducated were moral, while the learned were base in every respect and committed all grades of crime from larcenies on the treasury,<sup>9</sup>

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8 "Custom had lost its weight; the laws were regarded as only an agreement of the majority, the civil ordinances as an arbitrary restriction, the moral feelings as the effect of the policy of the state education, the faith in the gods as a human invention to intimidate the free power of action, while piety was looked upon as a statute which some men have enacted and which all are justified in using all their eloquence to change. This degradation of a necessity, which is conformable to nature and reason, \* \* \* is chiefly the point in which the Sophistic philosophy came in contact with the universal consciousness of the educated classes of the period, and we cannot with certainty say what share science and what share the life may have had in this connection,—whether the Sophistic philosophy found only the theoretical formula for the practical life and tendencies of the age, or whether the moral corruption was rather a consequence of that deductive influence which the principles of the Sophists exerted upon the whole course of contemporaneous thought." SCHWEGLER'S HISTORY OF PHILOSOPHY, pages 44 and 45.

9 "The very officers now made interest with the people to have him [Aristides] continued a third year in the same employment. But when the time



to secret assassination and public murder.<sup>10</sup> The virtues of an Aristides no longer exerted influence on the ruling classes, and the character of Pericles was tarnished by a questionable ambition.<sup>11</sup> With the latter, the end justified the means, and as the ruling passions of his soul were those of political pre-eminence coupled with unlimited power,<sup>12</sup> he denied himself of

of election was come, just as they were upon the point of electing Aristides unanimously, he rose up and warmly reproved the Athenian people. 'What,' says he, 'when I managed your treasure with all the fidelity and diligence an honest man is capable of, I met with the most cruel treatment and the most mortifying return, and now that I have abandoned it to all these robbers of the public, I am an admirable man and the best of citizens. I cannot help declaring to you that I am more ashamed of the honor you do me this day, than I was the condemnation you passed against me this time twelvemonth, and with grief I find it is more glorious, more complaisant with knaves, than to save the treasures of the republic.' By this declaration he silenced the public plunderers and gained the esteem of all good men."—ROLLIN'S ANCIENT HISTORY, vol. 1, page 242.

10 When the thirty tyrants had disarmed the public and strengthened themselves by an armed force of three thousand, they brought many false charges against good citizens, and "put them to death for the gratification of their hatred, and many others for the sake of their property. And in order that they might have more money to give the guards, they determined to choose one each of the resident aliens, and having put them to death to confiscate their property."

Cleocritus in his speech discloses this horrible state of the ruling classes at the period of the Peloponnesian war. He said: "Be not persuaded by those most impious thirty, who, for the sake of their own gain, have killed almost more of the Athenians in eight months than all the Peloponnesians in ten years' warfare."—HELLENICS, lib. 2, sections 20 and 21.

11 Rollin says that when Pericles "saw Aristides dead, Themistocles banished and Cimon engaged almost continually in foreign wars and absent from Greece, he began to appear in public with greater confidence than before, and entirely devoted himself to the party of the people, but not out of inclination, for he was far from effecting popular power, but to remove all suspicions of his aspiring to the tyranny."—ANCIENT HISTORY, vol. 1, page 231.

12 The same authority remarks that "Pericles may be said to have attained monarchical power under a republican form of government, molding the citizens into what shape he pleased, and presiding with unlimited

every enjoyment, of every right, and privilege which he deemed to be in opposition to the one end and object of his life. Distrusting the fidelity of that educated class to which he belonged, he addressed himself, with all the energy and sagacity of his soul, to gain the esteem and electoral favors of the lower ranks. He dare not entrust his political career to the learned, who, as experience had taught him, were actuated by feelings of jealousy toward competitors, unscrupulously sacrificing the liberties and lives of their contemporaries in the pursuit of gold and of distinction. That the source of virtue was the source of energy, Pericles, in all probability, very well understood, easily discerning that its only repository in Greece was with the lower classes. Remembering the fate and illustrious character of his predecessor, he was actuated by ambition for present exaltation, and a name famous for virtue and ability in succeeding ages. To ingratiate himself into the lasting friendship of the people, whose minds had not been corrupted by the principles of the higher orders, he introduced among them that extravagance in living, luxury and debauchery,<sup>13</sup> which, when

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authority in all their assemblies. And indeed Valerius Maximus makes scarce any difference other between Pisistratus and Pericles than the one exercised a tyrannical power by force of arms, and the other by the strength of his eloquence." More adroit and deceptive in his designs.—ANCIENT HISTORY, vol. 1, page 231.

<sup>13</sup> "He was the first who caused the conquered lands to be divided among the citizens, who distributed among them the public revenues for the expense

extended to the common people, infects and rots the noblest qualities of the human mind. The aping by the poorer after the fashions and prodigalities of the rich, out of desire to be taken for what they were not, excited a profusion in expenditure, which had it become common, as he intended it should, would have left the state impoverished in money and morals. He did drain the treasury, and to some extent injured the good habits of the people.<sup>14</sup> He ruled Athens with almost despotic power for forty years, the last fifteen of which he had no rival; and as he was amply rewarded for his great ability, not for his fidelity, by the highest honors of the state, he was by this same people, who at times were justly suspicious of his conduct and designs toward their liberties, frequently deposed and condemned.<sup>15</sup> While

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of their games and shows, and annexed pensions to all public employments; so that certain sums were bestowed on them regularly, as well to procure them a place at the games as for their attendance in the court of justice and the assemblies. It is impossible to say how fatal this, unhappily, was to the republic, and how many evils it drew after it. For these new regulations, besides draining the public treasury, gave the people a fondness for expense and a dissolute turn of mind, whereas they before were sober and modest, and contented themselves in getting a livelihood by their sweat and labor."—*ROLLIN'S ANCIENT HISTORY*, vol. 1, page 282.

<sup>14</sup> Rollin quotes Plato as "saying that the latter [Pericles] formed a judgment of things from their outward splendor," and "'observes that Pericles, with all his grand edifices and other works, had not improved the minds of the citizens in virtue, but rather corrupted the purity and simplicity of ancient manners.'"—*IBID*, 285.

<sup>15</sup> "The Athenians did not design to sue for peace any more to the Lacedæmonians, but the mere sight of Pericles and his presence were insupportable to them. They therefore deprived him of the command of the army, and sentenced him to pay a fine, which, according to some historians, amounted to fifteen, and according to others, to fifty, talents."—*IBID*, 302.

mankind have found much to admire in the character of this remarkable man, they have also discovered in him an insatiable ambition for notoriety and a greed for political might, which knew no measures but those that were adapted by their nature to insure success.

Aristides laid the foundations of the government upon a basis which tended to insure perpetuity,<sup>16</sup> while Pericles, to whose qualities of statesmanship sonnets are continually sung, removed their existence. The former increased the morals of the people, thereby giving vitality to the republic, while the latter introduced corruptions, which not only lessened the happiness of the people, but narrowed their earthly existence, forwarding measures which very much tended to shorten the age of the republic and end its liberties forever. Pericles had been educated by the philosopher Anaxagoras, the most distinguished thinker in Greece.

The military talents of Miltiades were no protection to his life, but excited the envy and hatred of Grecian aspirants for position, and was finally accused of treason to the state by them, and condemned to die the death of an infamous malefactor. In view, however,

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<sup>16</sup> The same authority mentions Plutarch as alleging that the house of Aristides was always open to the young men of Athens, and that it was a school for virtue, wisdom and politics; that all young men of Athens used to consult him as an oracle; he gave them the kindest reception, heard them with patience, and when not in office was always engaged, when opportunity afforded him, in teaching virtue.—ROLLIN'S ANCIENT HISTORY, vol. 1, page 271.



of his having rendered the greatest service to his country, with becoming modesty and prodigious martial ability, his sentence was commuted to a fine of fifty talents; and upon the insufficiency of his estate to meet the demands, was committed to prison, wherein he died of wounds received while opposing the Persian arms.<sup>17</sup> The learning or education of a few of the rich and poor did not enlarge the feelings of human kindness, but on the contrary became, as we shall hereafter more clearly discover, accompanied with the most degrading vices, and in proportion as the nation became intellectually educated, it became also correspondingly depraved. Mr. Buckle and many other, and I may say all other, educators, distinctly argue that intellectual education correspondingly elevates the morality of nations, and tends to put an end to the crimes and wars of mankind.

The great superstitious tendencies of the minds of Pythagoras and Empedocles, having been so much absorbed upon the marvelous and supernatural, were arrested from the contemplation of

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<sup>17</sup> "Little probability as there was in this accusation (treason), it nevertheless prevailed over the merit and innocence of Miltiades. He was condemned to lose his life, and to be thrown into the Barathrom; a sentence passed only upon the greatest criminals and malefactors. The magistrate opposed the execution of so unjust a condemnation. All the favor shown to this preserver of his country, was to have the sentence of death commuted into a penalty of fifty talents, or fifty thousand crowns French money. Not being rich enough to pay this sum, he was put into prison, where he died of wounds received at Paros."—*ROLLIN'S ANCIENT HISTORY*, vol. 1, page 245.



natural principles, and could have had no decided effect on the culture of the age, other than the influence which enthralls the mental in bondage to the theological teachings of ancient and anti-christian priestcraft. Their philosophical doctrines, therefore, must not be regarded as exerting the intellectual faculties, but as an hindrance to the intellectual development of their disciples. The Ionic, which, as has been observed, was not preserved otherwise than by tradition, and in this manner, exposed to the dangers of expunction, was very liable to such modifications and corruptions, if not so far lost as to render no contribution to the activity of human reason. We, therefore, pass over the philosophies of Thales, Pythagoras and Empedocles, as producing little activity to the faculties of reflection, other than that the first gave a new direction to mentality by the institution of a subject of thought and reason, not so far removed from human comprehensibility, but that the mental powers could seize upon some fact known to the experience of man. But the Eleatic and the Atomistic, by their directive and analytic course, introduced the Greek mind into a more rigid method and habit of investigation, and although they were not the immediate cause of treasuring up in the memory storehouses of learning, they, at least, produced a development of intellectual activity that greatly strengthened the understanding; and by

a close and thorough study of these two systems of thought, the mind of the student would be enabled to grapple with considerable power the most abstract theses which were then within the reach of finite minds.

The later advocates of the Eleatic and Atomistic doctrines, ignored all objective realities, and all finite determinateness, denied the existence of the gods, and taught the mere fact of being. This shows that the reasoning powers had become so far disciplined as to emancipate their votaries from the superstition, which, during their age, prevailed in Greece. As this objective reality was the external world, there was, therefore, no physical existence, no matter, no time, no anything, but the void space and the mere postulation of being. This being was considered by them as an universal principle. It is difficult to discover what this principle was, if other than a mere name; the discussion of which involved the explanation of the one by the other in all probability. This failing to arrive at a substratum, confounded the name with the supposed principle, so that neither could take any positive form in the mind of the instructed. But the analytical operations through which the mind was necessarily forced to effect a negation of all other conditions, wrought prodigious consequences in the intellectuality of the Greeks.

This doctrine carried out to its utmost limits

established atheism in the entirety of its meaning. This constant being of the Eleatic philosophy was, for the first time, made the subject of philosophical abstraction, although an exact equivalent of it had been taught ages before this, having been the secret theological faith in all eastern countries. The priests among the Egyptians, the Magi among the Chaldeans, Assyrians and Persians, believed and taught it in secret councils to those designed for the sacred orders, while their attitude to the people was marked by a superstitious belief in working miracles and performing other marvelous ceremonies which corresponded to the condition of the laity.

The Eleatic doctors having annihilated the external world to their satisfaction, directed their speculations upon the infinite. This soon met the same fate, being considered by them also as an universal principle, which was almost the same to them then that pantheism is to us now. After these doctrines had reached this stage of the case in their bearings, they were, we think, divested of some of their first predisposing tendencies to development. For, whenever any system of thought has the embracement of transcendentalism, it becomes, to some extent, a subject of feeling, and does not tend to produce that steady concentrated activity of the intellectual faculties, which those subjects do that are more

properly adapted to their legitimate scope. But even in this phase of these doctrines they produced developments, which, like the metaphysical school after the revival of learning, although concentrated on things that by their method of treatment are beyond the proper province of reason, rendered the intellect quite subtle and critical. In proportion as these doctrines went beyond the legitimate scope of the intellectual powers, the activity of those faculties was diminished. Experience, in spite of the claims of the psychological school, has positively taught, that subjects adapted to the development of the intellect must be of the nature of finite abjectivity. For how is it possible for finite mind to comprehend conditions of the infinite? to pass from the facts and principles of the terminational to the relative attributes of the interminable without the assistance of a theurgy?<sup>18</sup> It was in this manner that these doctrines diminished their influence on this portion of the mind. They did not reach this state, however, until the feelings of

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<sup>18</sup> "It is the business of human intellect to adapt itself to the realities of things, and not to measure those realities by its own capacities of comprehension. The same qualities which fit mankind for the offices and purposes of their own little life, the tendency of their belief to follow their own experience, incapacitates them for judging what lies beyond. Not only what man can know, but what he can conceive, depends upon what he has experienced. Whatever forms a part of his experience, forms a part also of his conception, and appears to him universal and necessary, though really, for aught he knows, having no existence beyond certain narrow limits."—JOHN STUART MILL'S LOGIC, 338.

morality and of religion in the educated were comparatively expunged.

The duration of the Atomistic philosophy was not far from the same length of time as that of the Eleatic. It was more of a system of natural philosophy, and toward its close denied all but the operation of the natural laws. The combination of certain properties of matter, through the action of an universal principle, generated life and organization. From the time of its rise to the expulsion of Anaxagoras it had done much for the intellectual powers, but nothing for the moral. While the former were thus forced forward in development by activity, the latter, by non-use, were forced to diminish. They had, during the whole period which this system existed as a practical instructor, continued to decrease till moral qualities formed no part of the character of the educated classes. As the intellect is not possessed of feeling, and as there was a deposition of the moral and of the religious faculties, as also there were no other faculties but the animal which were possessed of feeling, after the fall of the two former, the propensities were left in control of the mind. History does not instruct us that the uneducated were thus circumstanced; but, on the contrary, there is every reason to believe, from the same records which condemn the higher, that the lower were in a more moral state, more approaching



a primitive normality, having not been subjected so much to the deleterious influences of external phenomena and the detractive tendencies of philosophy.

From this distance of time, it is impossible to determine with certainty, if Anaxagoras' expulsion were caused by the special enmity of the people in consequence of his negation of deity, or the immediate result of a conspiracy of corrupt aspirants for power, who wished to attack all that were connected with Pericles, for the purpose of bringing the latter into contempt with the people and thereby force him from the head of affairs.<sup>19</sup> However this may be, the ostracism of Anaxagoras put an end to his system of philosophy and consequently the intellectual culture flowing from it. Although his doctrines survived him, instruction under them, after his death and during the Peloponnesian war, came to an end. Those doctrines existed, but during the Peloponnesian controversy they slumbered in the minds of corrupt politicians, who had endorsed the general scepticism of Anaxagoras, without preserving his virtues or even imitating his manners. Although the

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<sup>19</sup> "According to some authors, he was tried and condemned either to a fine and banishment or to death; but in the latter case he made his escape from prison. According to others, he was defended by Pericles and acquitted. Plutarch says that Pericles, fearing the event of a trial, induced Anaxagoras to withdraw from Athens; and it seems to have been admitted on all hands that he ended his life in quiet and honor at Lampsacus."—THIRLWALL'S HISTORY OF GREECE, vol. 1, page 321; also note 24, on page 56 of same volume; SCHWEGLER'S HISTORY OF PHILOSOPHY, page 40.

moral character of this distinguished philosopher was not only above reproach but admirable, the infidelity of his teachings removed all fears of retributive justice in another world. During the first half of the time in which this philosophy was engaged in the cultivation of the intellectual powers, it produced a direct depression of moral activity. During the last half of its term of life, although its speculative negation of theogony and preternatural accountability could work little injury to rigid moral organizations, it was ruinous to those who were equally disposed to vice and to virtue, into either one of which they were drawn by external conditions.

The greater part of mankind then, most especially the educated Greeks, as the race of man has ever been since, were weaker in their moral than intellectual powers, and their attitude was determined invariably by surrounding circumstances. To this generally there is an universal admission. When, therefore, the majority of any particular class, or the majority of a nation, bear such relation to the minority and also to themselves, there be no rigid system of moral culture, and if, also, there be no fear of future punishment, there will, in that majority, be an abandonment of justice, and an embracement of those national politics which extend to them the greatest latitude of depravation. Although the inculcation of religious

punitive precepts does not educate the moral sense, it does, nevertheless, to some extent repress, through fear, the criminal conduct of a greater share of the human race. The one or the other must, therefore, exist for the welfare of mankind. If both cease, anarchy must result. The subjective method of the Anaxagorean system, although more critical in tendency than original in thought, produced wonders on the intellectual powers of the Greeks.

What has been said of the Atomistic may, regarding the effect upon the moral, be said of every other school of Greece down to the establishment of the Socratic philosophy. They cultivated the intellectual and them only. We have already seen that but few of the inhabitants of this nation were educated—the ruling classes—and we shall hereafter more clearly discover, as we have in part already, that they were the only portion of the Greeks which can be charged with any considerable degree of corruption.

About nineteen years before the close of the Peloponnesian war, there appeared at Athens a person of no very remarkable exterior, who was represented as bowed by age and disfigured by a few of those physical infirmities, which have, in all ages, more or less, effected an abasement in the external proportions of the individual members of mankind. His physiognomy was anything but prepossessing; yet within there was

a subtile intellect accompanied by a soul stamped with every element of mortal greatness, which shed brilliant rays of glory on those days of Grecian degeneracy. Although his magnificent virtues and principles have been the theme of bards and historians, few have fully appreciated the real worth of the doctrines of this most excellent philosopher. Amidst those lamentable times which had fallen on the more unfortunate inhabitants of Greece, wherein money was mammon, ostracism or murder, seemingly became a necessity for public notoriety and political success, it would appear, if one be inclined to believe in special interventions of a superintending Providence, a being was let down to this lower world from above, who was, in almost every respect, competent to arrest the people from that extinction, into which, by the educated classes, they were being hurried. The name of Socrates has long been familiar to the world.

The schools of thought which preceded and were contemporary with the Socratic, only sought discoveries which satisfied the curiosities of the mind, but added nothing to the welfare and moral stability of nations in this age of the world. The constant being of the Eleatic, the becoming of the Heraclitic, the doctrines of the Atomistic, and the very critical tendency of the Pyrrhonic, were addressed exclusively to the intellect, no wise causing action or humane

interest in the feelings of the student. Thus while the intellectual faculties were vigorously exercised on subjects which were partially and wholly adapted to their operation, excluding the sympathetic exertion of every other faculty, the moral and the religious sentiments were consigned to repose, to atrophy, and to extinction. But after the rise of the Socratic, there was manifestly a new direction given to thought, and a more beneficial epoch for human investigation came into being.<sup>20</sup> The most important fault, which it possessed, was the tardiness of its appearance. It came when virtue was fallen, when the vices of rival states had generated war for conquest and subjection; too late to accomplish the moral regeneration of Greece. And herein lay the principal cause of its failure, for had Socrates founded his system one hundred years earlier, the fate of Grecian freedom, if not independence, would have, in all probability, been entirely different.

No man before him had attempted a thorough

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<sup>20</sup> "Socrates gave a new direction to philosophical investigation. He united with a penetrating judgment a liberal mind and exalted views, exemplary integrity and purity of manners." \* \* \* "He estimated the value of knowledge by its utility; and recommended the study of astronomy, geometry and other sciences only as far as they admit of practical application to the purposes of human life. His great object was to lead men into an acquaintance with themselves, to convince them of their follies and vices, to inspire them with the love of virtue, and to furnish them with useful moral instruction. He thought it more reasonable to examine things in relation to man and the principles of his moral conduct, than such as lie beyond the sphere and reach of human intellect, and consequently do not relate to man. His favorite maxim was: whatever is above us, does not concern us."—DOCTRINE OF THE MENTAL PHENOMENA, BY J. G. SPURZHEIM, pages 11 and 12. See also pages 54-5 of SCHWEGLER'S HISTORY OF PHILOSOPHY.



education of the moral faculties so as to give them control over human conduct; no man before him had endeavored to arrest the wandering thoughts of mankind after momentary pleasure and bring them back to those laws which alone can confer lasting happiness; no man before him had tried to point out the true foundations of equitable governments; no man before him had, by system, disconnected the religious from the moral elements of the mind, and successfully shown that upon the latter alone can securely rest the just constitutionalities of mortal administrations.

One cannot but dwell with pleasure on the character of the Socratic philosophy, because it was about the only thing that enlivened the hopes and gladdened the heart of the good in this stagnant period of Grecian history, when everything was expediency and policy in the educated classes, and honesty was winked at as a foolish relic of barbaric times, or as an invention of the weak and crafty to deceive and delude the ignorant. A war, ruinous alike to Athens and to Lacedæmon, had been in progress, shedding the blood of relatives and friends, now turned to relentless foes, for eight long years, each one of which was significant of the decline of the fortitude and integrity that once actuated this valorous and austere race of men. All the rest of Greece, as dependants, were drawn into the alliance of the one or the other of these powerful

states, wherein the victory or the defeat, to either, was equally an annihilation of liberty to all. It resulted in an aristocratic ascendancy of corrupt demagogues over democratic rights, wherein of the former all are unequally privileged before the law. This prepared the way for the machinations of a Philip, of an Alexander, who shortly after the subjection of Athens, began to inflict mankind by the commission of the most heinous crimes conceivable under man's moral code.

The nature and tendency of the Socratic philosophy was to do away and supersede those idle speculations,<sup>21</sup> which did no positive good, other than cultivate the intellectual powers and partially satisfy the curiosity of enquiring minds; and, as has been seen, the teachings of the pre-Socratic systems blasted all consolatory hopes, and extinguished all fear, of a future life. And although it may with truth be said, that they removed ignorance and extreme superstition from the minds of the people, by a systematic destruction of Polytheism, and thus prepared the way in the spiritual faculties of mental being for the reception of a very limited

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21 "Observing with regret that the opinions of the Athenians were misled and their moral principles corrupted, by philosophers who spent their time in refined speculations upon the nature and origin of things, and by Sophists who taught the art of false eloquence and deceitful reasonings, Socrates endeavored to institute a new and more useful method of instruction. He conceived that the true end of philosophy is not an ostentatious display of superior learning, neither ingenious conjectures, nor subtle disputations, but the love of truth and virtue."—SPURZHEIM'S MENTAL PHENOMENA, p. 11.

Monotheism, they finally passed to the extreme, toward their close, and endorsed Atheism. When they had reached this condition, they assumed an entirely different characteristic, and the good which they had formerly done was more than counterbalanced by such a decrement of morals, as was in few places to be found on the face of the earth. This condition was wrought by the great concentration of the intellectual faculties upon the absurdities of ancient religion and the origin of all things.

It must be borne in memory, that these philosophies were made the subject of investigation by the rich and a paucity of the poor only. A very few in those days, as in the present, were sufficiently industrious to forego ease and pleasure, and confine themselves to the study of abstract principles. This is as nearly true of learning as philosophy. Such has been the case in all ages, and there will always be more inclination to ease than to energy.

The philosophical speculations of Socrates were directed to the ethical portion of man's metaphysical being. He conceived that the first essential requisite to individuals, to society, and to governments, was an establishment of moral principles by a system of rigid culture of man's moral nature. This alone could confer upon man lasting happiness, and secure to persons in relation to others, and to the state, perfect

productive harmony. This he attempted by subordinating mentality to that portion of itself which gives rise to qualities of moral principles, and thereby approximating to a correct system of ethics. This tended to destroy crimes and wars by removing the causes of their existence.

It was the idle speculations of the pre-Socratic schools that had accumulated, as time advanced, upon the intellect of the Greeks, increasing its development, while the moral elements were wholly abandoned, and, by this doomed to a sickly existence, or a total extinction. It is a universal law of man's physical being, that organs of whatever nature, whether fibrous, nervous, or of any other material quality, by their inherent constitution require exercise. The penalty is a dying, or an atrophying condition to the organ so violating the laws of its being. And hence a single muscle, an entire arm or limb, perishes for want of exercise. This law was well understood by the Greeks, knowing also that it was as applicable to the metaphysical. And thus, as observed, the intellect grew to prodigious power by its constant activity, while the moral elements were silently and rapidly disappearing through neglect, from their just and proper influence in the minds of the educated classes. This course of the pre-Socratic philosophies, was a generation of power in one part of Grecian mentality, while it was a

degeneration of the other; life to the former, but death to the latter. So long had this been the condition in Greece, that the whole educated classes were very corrupt in their character, except now and then an able leader, who in order to obtain patronage and celebrity to his system of instruction, had found it necessary to unite with himself a pure bearing and exalted virtues.

Such had become the moral qualities of this portion of the Grecian inhabitants before the Socratic establishment; and when Socrates began teaching his method, the learned were justly chargeable of possessing the basest turpitude and of committing the grossest crimes ever before known to the people of Greece. Although other causes combined in producing this abandoned status, the defective system of education of these schools were the major and more legitimate cause of it. Although Socrates did not trace these effects to their sources, he readily discovered the only method, or means, by which his country could hope to escape those calamities, which were then upon a part of her citizens and portended the immediate burial of her fame, her glory, and the personal freedom of her people.

The politicians of either aristocratic or democratic parties, who had been pupils of these ancient philosophies after they had attained to political eminence, misled the masses in the assemblies and courts,



trampling upon the most sacred rights of the people. Our distinguished philosopher, however defective his metaphysical speculations may have been, by the institution of virtue as a positive opposition to the subordination of the whole being to the propensities, endeavored to stay the corrupting causes which were then producing fatal effects to the Hellenic states, by afflicting them with suicidal wars.

This opposition of Socrates to the speculations and profligate manners of the learned, soon drew upon him their anger, and they firmly resolved upon his removal. In order to effect their object, they resorted to the artifice of deception, causing the innocent multitude to believe that he was guilty, as a citizen, not only of disregarding the usages of state religion, but of positive crimes against the perpetuity of the commonwealth. Accordingly he was accused of such things as gave apparent grounds of offending the people, by transgressing the laws and customs of the state of Attica. He was charged, among other things, all equally false, of introducing strange gods, of corrupting the youth, and upon these frivolous complaints was brought to trial and condemnation.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> "The accusation of Socrates, which took place in the year 399 B. C., (Ol. 95.1.) not long after the expulsion of the thirty tyrants, and which was brought forward by Meletus, and supported by Arytas, the democratic politician, and Lycon, the orator, contained substantially the same charges which Aristophanes had made in the 'clouds.' It ran thus: 'Socrates is a public offender, in that he does not recognize the gods which the state

After thirty days he died of poison, administered by authority of law.<sup>23</sup>

Such were the prevailing characters of the times at this great center of culture, that this celebrated man, who having used the best part of his life, after the maturity of his mind, in doing good to his people and country, was put to death through the machinations of a few dissolute politicians and venal judges. Although the thirty tyrants, with their adherents, had been driven from authority, the former either banished or executed, it would appear that the corrupt which still remained were seething in decomposition, and, if allowed the expression, their moral faculties so far diminished as to be beyond the hope of the most distant redemption, almost extinguished from being. Athens was a first class asylum for the depraved, but a forbidding one to those who combined moral with intellectual qualities.

It can nowhere be charged, to extent worthy of mention, upon the uneducated ranks of the Greeks,

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recognizes, but introduces new demoniacal beings; he has also offended by corrupting the youth."—HISTORY OF PHILOSOPHY, UERBERAEZ, vol. 1, 81.

<sup>23</sup> "The execution of the sentence of Socrates was delayed by the departure of the Theoris, the sacred vessel, which carried the yearly offerings of the Athenians to Delos. From the moment that the priests of Apollo had crowned its stern with laurel, until its return, the law required that the city should be kept pure from all pollution, and, therefore, that no criminal should be put to death. The opening ceremony had taken place on the day before the trial of Socrates, and thirty days elapsed before the Theoris again sailed into Piræus."—THIRLWALL'S HISTORY OF GREECE, vol. 1, page 526.

that they were guilty of any connection with the commission of those crimes which were so frequent after philosophy had become established as a system of culture, other than an occasional excited movement against some celebrated individual, who, as they had been deluded into the belief by the orators of Attica, was about to overturn the liberty of the state, or likely, by his general infidelity to the religion of the country, to bring upon the people the vengeance of the gods for the desecration of their sacred laws. In almost every instance of the kind, the populace had been harangued by some ingenious demagogue, who was prepared and supported by a few facts, usually more apparent than real, which were in most cases wholly false. Such was the condition of affairs in the case of Aristides, who, because he had prevented this corrupt class from robbing the treasury, was ostracised from Athens with no little disgrace in the eyes of the inhabitants.<sup>24</sup> The lower orders voted against him in the trial which determined his expulsion, through the fear which they entertained of his erecting a strong centralized government upon the ruins of democratic laws. This was brought about by the educated rascality of Greece.

There is another source through which intelligence

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<sup>24</sup> Consult the *Rise and Fall of Athens*, in which Mr. Bulwer has given this subject careful attention, vol. 2, page 45.

may be derived to quicken, to some extent, the intellectuality of mankind. This may be wrought in two different ways: by reading the written productions of distinguished travelers, or by an actual intercommunication with the different nations of the earth. The former is less effectual than the latter, as a cause, producing, or as it were, creating, intelligence. Either may be made a poor substitute for an inferior kind of learning. It does not really produce a culture that very much strengthens the intellectual faculties; it only enlivens the mind, stores the memory, and gives one an understanding of the customs, manners, laws, religions, and, to a limited degree, an insight into the private character of the different races of the globe. If the array of all the different tribes and races of mankind, with an exhibition of these phases, could pass in review before our eyes at some fixed place and time, it would not, I apprehend, have the effect on our intellectual being, that it would if we should visit the countries wherein those tribes and races are located in succession, allowing time to intervene for retrospection. This contemplation of different races of men, including their habits, acts as an education to the perceptive, or sensuous, faculties of merchant men resident and doing business in cities of commercial note, to which resort the traders of different parts of the world. When, therefore, we add to the last of the above ideas the

sprightly operation of those faculties which discriminate between the various qualities of material objects, their value, vendition, and all those dependent calculations necessary to be made in a complicated trade, we derive a compound discipline to those intellectual faculties which are peculiarly adapted to this kind of business. We then have culture extended to other faculties, which extended culture, by its component character, multiplies the intelligence and therefore the mental capacity of the individual.

Although Athens was the principal seat of philosophy and of learning, it was also among the most important commercial cities then in existence. Situated upon the confines of Europe and Asia, it communicated in its mercantile transactions with the eastern, and the more civilized portion of the western, world. Those men, who were desirous of studying the sciences and philosophy, flocked to Athens, where they received instruction from the latest and most improved schools. All sorts of goods, which were used by civilized people, were transported from Spain, from Carthage, and from Sicily, to modern Tyre and Athens, in which they found a ready sale, or an equivalent exchange for things equally valuable to the foreign merchant. These cities were to the traveler in commerce, what Mecca, in religion, afterward was to the Mahometan pilgrim. In them was collected by degrees great wealth. As



the merchant became rich, he lived luxuriously, and attempted to imitate the manners of his superiors, who had been subjected to rigid culture, and, besides, possessed of noble qualities, which, when combined in one individual, generally produces a mien far above that of ordinary mortals. We may, therefore, conclude that Athens, possessing other sources from which was generated intelligence, had intelligent people beside those of education. But the proportion which this class of men bore to the state was very narrow.

In the foregoing we have established the sources from which the states of Greece derived most all of that intelligence of which they were possessed. No other portion of Greece offered those advantages which this great city presented to her race far and near. The opportunities of acquiring learning, of commercial knowledge, and those degenerating vices, idleness and luxury, were in the keeping of this great city. It now remains for us to set forth the character, the moral condition, of her public or educated men.<sup>25</sup>

As the histories of the ancients are little more than the chronicles of the martial acts of distinguished men, it is a severe labor for him who endeavors to

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<sup>25</sup> "History is rarely more than the biography of great men. Through a succession of individuals we trace the character and destiny of nations. The people glide away from us, a sublime but intangible abstraction, and the voice of the mighty Agora reaches us only through the medium of its representatives to posterity."—RISE AND FALL OF ATHENS, vol. 2, page 9.

unfold the moral civilization of any given race of antique times, to discover the causes of certain effects, and thereby understand partly those laws which govern the mentality of man. The course of ancient writers multiplies the labor of the modern investigator, and in consequence of this we are compelled to be more diffusive to attain our object. The phrenic condition of any nation can be tolerably well understood, if it have credible biographers. "In regarding the character of men thus concentrating upon themselves our survey of a nation, it is our duty sedulously to discriminate between their qualities and their deeds: for it seldom happens that their renown in life was unattended with reverses equally signal, that the popularity of to-day was not followed by the persecutions of to-morrow; and in these vicissitudes our justice is no less appealed to than our pity, and we are called upon to decide, as judges, a grave and solemn cause between the silence of a departing people and the eloquence of imperishable names."

The condition of Athens just before its fall corresponded in many respects, to the revolutionary sentiments which decided the fate of the unfortunate Louis XVI, the last regal representative who united in one person the Capetian and Bourbon dynasties. It will be sufficient for our purpose to trace the career, rise and fall of those distinguished persons

in whom originated all the principal events, and who possessed nearly all the intelligence of these ancient states on the eve which preceded their overthrow. And also, as we wish to consider the civilization of this people in contemporaneousness with Carthage, it is unnecessary to embrace a longer period than that which included those days that were at once her worst and her last.

It is impossible at any epoch, however mortifying to reflect upon, that does not, during its wide-spread pestilence of vices, produce individuals who enlist our warmest sympathies and admiration. But for this our contemplation would be attended with the most sorrowful reflections, often generating the condition of misanthropy. If intellectual culture operates as an elevation of man's moral nature, then those individuals who have been educated, when entrusted with a nation's independence and the execution of its laws, ought to exhibit a fidelity to the state, and a corresponding equity in their relations with the people. But there never was a people who placed greater confidence in the integrity of their educated classes than did the lower orders of Greece; and yet never were betrayals so signal as those to which the constituency of Attica were subjected, on the eve, during the progress and at the close, of the Peloponnesian war. Those men, who had received the best educations, and

possessed by nature of large intellectual faculties, were those who betrayed the state, robbed the treasury, murdered their constituents, bankrupted the republic, and brought on a war which ended in the dependency of Attica and the enthrallment of all Greece.

We have seen that those philosophies which had their birth and decay before the Peloponnesian struggle, had a strong and peculiar tendency to expunge the moral qualities of human nature from influential action on the votaries of their doctrines. They brought the educated into that condition of debauchery of which we do not find them possessed before the publication of philosophy.

After the tyrannical government of Hippias was overthrown and he was driven into exile, a strife began between the nobles and the people, as to the form of government that should be established in place of that despotism which had already fallen.<sup>26</sup> The aristocracy had opposed the rule of the tyrant, not in consequence of the oppression which monarchical systems entail on the people, but apparently because they held a subordinate position.<sup>27</sup> In the destruction of the preceding form of government, they

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<sup>26</sup> "The instant the pressure of one supreme power was removed, the two parties, embodying the aristocratic and popular principles, rose into active life."—RISE AND FALL OF ATHENS, vol. 1, page 231.

<sup>27</sup> In modern times there have been modifications by which the crown divides its power with the nobles, both against the people.

were actuated by the feelings of envy and an egoistic ambition for political notoriety, irrespective of the welfare of the people.<sup>28</sup> In the struggle which ensued over the remains of monarchical administration, there occurred scenes which disgrace the records of Grecian history. They struggled not for the people in reality, but for themselves in the end, each to attain exclusively to that power from which he had assisted in hurling the tyrant a short time before. Like the French nobles, on the eve of the French revolution, each was restless and impatient at the claim of any other to superior descent. All traced their descent either from the gods or from ancient celebrated heroes. As if the world were made for panoramic shows, these individuals must make an ostentatious exhibition of inordinate vanity and conceit. What has mortal to be proud of, if it be not that honesty and fidelity with which he complies with those laws of nature which God has established for man's benefit. The enfeebled aristocracies of most all countries, down to the end of the reign of Louis XV, have presented this phase of folly.

The nobles of Athens could not brook a superior, and consequently joined in the expulsion of a tyrant. They, therefore, were in favor of a more liberal or a

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<sup>28</sup> RISE AND FALL OF ATHENS, vol. 1, pages 231-32.



more oppressive form of government. If the nobles could not rule, they must not be ruled. If the form of government was to be that of a democracy, in which the sovereign power was the will of the people, the administration of the laws must rest lightly and make very few demands upon them. They had descended lineally from illustrious parents, had been richer, better educated, better fed and clothed than the rest of the people, and hence were in the possession of better blood, more beautiful bodies, and minds organized on a larger scale. These considerations appeared sufficiently satisfactory to the educated ranks which lived in Attica at this period. They were firm in the belief that their pretensions were not unreasonable, and, therefore, the people ought to forego those foolish notions which they entertained of comfort and convenience, and live to support the measures and adorn the administration of a legitimate descendant of a Hercules or a mighty Jove. If these were not the words in which the higher classes uttered their sentiments, the record of their deeds confirm the substance which they contain.

Miltiades claimed descent from the most illustrious families that preceded the time in which he lived, dwelling at Athens during the forepart of the reign of Pisistratus, about 550 B. C.<sup>29</sup> The restless and

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<sup>29</sup> RISE AND FALL OF ATHENS, vol. 1, page 222.

suspicious conduct of Miltiades occasioned anxiety on the part of Pisistratus for the security of his government; and the former, regarding his life, or at least his liberty, unsafe during the existence of the latter's despotic rule, proceeded to the Chersonesus to found a colony, where he was finally assassinated.

Pisistratus, from a democratic leader, although a noble by birth, wounded himself, thereby deceiving the people, although they had been warned by Solon of the delusion. At his request the inhabitants granted him a guard for his protection against the Alcmaeonidæ, who, he pretended, threatened his life.<sup>30</sup> As this guard at first was necessarily small, he secretly increased it to a commensuration with the dignity of the protected (under a hypocritical pretension), so as to secure protection to his person against the jealousy and hatred of a designing noble not less powerful than himself. Those sentiments of humanity, compassion and conscientiousness, have, at all historic times, been mostly in the keeping of the illiterate: they were, among the Grecians, the treasurers of both. This aspiring despot, in all probability, was well apprized of the locality in which these elements were reposed.

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<sup>30</sup> "The credulous love of the people swept away all precautions, and the guard was granted. Its numbers did not long continue stationary. Pisistratus increased the amount, till it was swelled to the force required by his designs. He seized the citadel, the antagonistic faction of Megacles fled—and Pisistratus was master of Athens."—*RISE AND FALL OF ATHENS*, vol. 1, page 213.

Destitute of the feelings of either, he did not hesitate to trample on these beautiful sentiments in others; and the guards assigned for his protection were the means by which he subverted the liberty of that very people, who had thrown an arm of security around his person, or his life. He established an absolute government in Athens, and thenceforth he designed that all law, together with its execution, should proceed from himself. He became the great fountain of justice, instead of the people. During his administration there were but two ranks in the state, the oppressor and the oppressed; he was master and they were slaves.

The Alcmaeonidæ, guilty of murder, fled not from Athens to avoid the just vengeance of law, but through fear of the machinations of a rival usurper. Megacles and his associates, belonging to the popular party, took refuge in a foreign country. But powerful rival parties, under the leadership of Lycurgus, were successful in driving the despot from the state. This union of opposing rivals for the removal of Pisistratus was, after the expulsion of the latter, dissolved by jealousy among the rival leaders of each, at the aspiring ambition of the other. Against the rival leaders, Megacles, being unable to make headway, and establish himself in a centralized government, proposed to the exiled monarch, each having fled from the other, to elevate him to the despotic position from

which he had been driven, in the event that Pisistratus marry his daughter. Destitute of all shame in this relation, as in all others, he acceded to the terms, thus prostituting his person for power by marrying the Megaclean.<sup>31</sup> The parent, who was represented as a mild man and a leader of one of the democratic parties, proved to be the very individual who restored a tyrannical rule to the tyrant, and an oppressive burden to the people.

But the want of affection toward Cœsyra soon reached the ears of Megacles, who, regarding it a contempt of merit, or of dignity in his own person, resented the insult, became democratic in feeling, and a second time, by his influence, compelled the tyrant to descend the throne and flee the state. The usurper and his sons soon after established themselves in the government. Megacles and Pisistratus knew no rights but their own, and the bearings of no measures but such as contributed to their own riches, and to their own selfish ends. With them might made right, and each was desirous of placing all in subordination to his own interests. The sole end of life with them was the gratification of their selfish and animal desires. They

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31 "Megacles, therefore, unable to maintain equal ground with Lycurgus, turned his thoughts toward the enemy he had subdued, and sent proposals to Pisistratus, offering to unite their forces, and support him in his pretensions to the tyranny, upon condition that the exiled chief marry his daughter Cœsyra. Pisistratus readily acceded to the terms."—RISE AND FALL OF ATHENS, vol. 1, page 215.



racked Athens by civil wars to subserve the purposes of these base passions; and whatever apparent fame their ambition might have attained in the eyes of the depraved, it is perfectly evident that their envious souls were put to the severest torture at the prosperity of political rivals, and their memory doomed to be branded with infamy by succeeding generations as traitors and felons.

Some credit, however, is due Pisistratus, for, being a man of learning, he was the first who collected the scattered poems of Homer,<sup>32</sup> enforced the laws of Solon,<sup>33</sup> and directed the attention of his countrymen to the cultivation of letters.

Miltiades, nephew to the one already mentioned, was both a tyrant and a traitor to the nobles and to the people.<sup>34</sup> He commanded the Greek forces at the celebrated battle of Marathon, and died in prison

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<sup>32</sup> "Although the poems of Homer were widely known and deeply venerated before his time, yet he appears, by a more accurate collection and arrangement of them, and probably by bringing them into more general and active circulation in Athens, to have largely added to the wonderful impetus to poetical emulation which these immortal writings were calculated to give."—RISE AND FALL OF ATHENS, vol. 1, page 218.

<sup>33</sup> "Amid the tumult of fierce and equipoised factions, *it might be* fortunate that a single individual was raised above the rest, who, having the wisdom to appreciate the institutions of Solon, had the authority to enforce them."—IBID. vol. 1, 219.

<sup>34</sup> Mr. Bulwer says that this Miltiades arrived at the Chersonesus, "by a stroke of dextrous perfidy, seized the persons of the neighboring chieftains—attained the sovereignty of that peninsula, and married the daughter of a Thracian prince. In his character was united, with much of the intellect, all the duplicity of the Greek."—IBID., vol. 1, page 258.



under, as is believed, unjust sentence of law. After the death of Pisistratus, his eldest son, Hippias, succeeded to the throne of his father. It was during the reign of Hippias that this second Miltiades was sent to the Chersonesus, which Hippias supposed bore the relation of a tributary province to Athens, and therefore to his sovereign power. Miltiades, after his arrival in the former country, pretended to be greatly afflicted for the loss of his kinsman. Upon the appearance of this, the most considerable persons on that peninsula offered every sympathy and satisfaction, which they could render to the sorrow-stricken chief. When those influential persons had assembled for that purpose, he laid hands on their persons and treated them as modern nations manage notorious thieves. There could be no baser conduct, or an exhibition of more treacherous principles, than the action of Miltiades in this affair.<sup>35</sup> He was true in faith to no particular party, nor power, if he could, by any means, make an act of perfidy redound to his own emolument in wealth, in honor, or in fame.

“During the war between Darius and the Scythians, while affecting to follow the Persian army, he had held traitorous intercourse with the foe, and proposed to the

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<sup>35</sup> “The new Miltiades was a man of consummate talents, but one who scrupled little as to the means by which he accomplished his object.”—*RISE AND FALL OF ATHENS*, page 228.

Grecian chiefs to destroy the bridge of boats across the Danube, confided to their charge; so that, what with the force of the Scythians and the pressure of famine, the army of Darius would have perished among the Scythian wastes, and a mighty enemy have been lost to Greece—a scheme that, but for its wickedness, would have been wise. With all his wiles, and all his dishonesty, Miltiades had the art, not only of rendering authority firm, but popular. Driven from his state by the Scythian nomades, he was voluntarily recalled by the very subjects over whom he had established an armed sovereignty—a rare occurrence in that era of republics. Surrounded by fierce and restless foes, and exercised in constant, if petty, warfare, Miltiades had acquired as much the experience of camps as the subtleties of Grecian diplomacy; yet, like many of the wise of small states, he seems to have been more crafty than rash—the first for flight whenever flight was the better policy—but first for battle if battle were the more prudent. He had in him none of the inconsiderate enthusiasm of the hero, none of the blind but noble subserviency to honor. Valor seems to have been for his profound intellect but the summation of chances, and when we afterward find him the most daring soldier, it is only because he was the acutest calculator.”<sup>36</sup> This was the true character

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<sup>36</sup> RISE AND FALL OF ATHENS, vol. 1, page 259.

of him who fought the great battle of Marathon by the introduction of a new mode of attack. Like the class to which he belonged, whose minds were always turned to policy and expediency, he held no true relation to the people. This, we shall show, in a subsequent part of this work, to be one of the causes which is now decomposing the principles upon which the constitutionality of the republic of the United States is reposed. To-day it is the life of society; and the duration of the republic may be determined by it; for it is evident that as duplicity becomes common to the members of society in ordinary life, equity has subsided from the masses, and depravity become the prevailing fashion of the age.

Cleomenes had reduced the spirit of revenge to a science, and, by the subtilty of his address, caused the deposition of Demaratus from the throne of Sparta. Demaratus, being more influenced by power and the prospect of distinction than the love of justice, betrayed his country, taking revenge upon a whole people for injuries which he had received by the deceptive policy of Cleomenes and Leotychides.

Demaratus, in the former part of his life, had defeated the suit which Leotychides was paying to a young lady and married her himself. In consequence of this Leotychides readily joined in the conspiracy of Cleomenes, and published the falsehood

regarding the legitimacy of Demaratus' birth. Cleomenes knew that the lower classes were as superstitious as they were ignorant, and hence would consult the divine authority with reference to the truth of the charge. By the assistance of a citizen of no less standing than his own, he was enabled to bribe the oracle to confirm the report. The consequence was that the people, (who if they must have a king desired one that had received from his ancestors no hereditary tendency to vice,) deposed Demaratus from regal power. The fallen potentate, to escape the further persecution of his enemies, fled from Grecian authority, and was received at the Persian court by Darius. Shortly before him Hippias had been driven from a despotic station at Athens, the last sovereign of the Pisistratidæ, by the envious and jealous rancor of political enemies who were his equals in wealth, in culture, and in sagacity. Hippias, repairing to the capital city of Darius, and pursuing that system of hatred and revenge so common to the higher classes of the Greeks, by his influence at the Persian court, drew upon the inhabitants of his native country the numberless hosts of its ancient enemies.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> "While, seemingly unconscious of greater dangers, Athens thus practised her rising energies against the little island of Ægina, thrice every day the servants of the Persian king continued to exclaim, 'Sire, remember the Athenians!' The traitor Hippias, constantly about the person of the courteous monarch, never failed to stimulate still farther his vengeance by



The double attitude of Cleomenes toward the people in bribing the oracle, being discovered, he fled from the vengeance of the inhabitants and sought an asylum in a foreign state. Burning with indignation at the treatment he had received from his countrymen, he endeavored to direct the sword of Thessaly upon his native city. He was a man of great abilities and executiveness, and was enabled to accomplish more in a direct course than any other individual of his time. In consideration of the danger which at this time threatened Greece, the people, notwithstanding Cleomenes' conduct in a foreign land, recalled him from exile. The Persian armies had appeared on the borders of Grecian territory, and hence it demanded every effort on the part of the latter to protect itself from conquest and subjection to Persian rule.

However defective may have been the character and conduct of Demaratus while he held the Spartan scepter, and also during the first part of his exile before the death of Darius, after the succession of Xerxes to the throne of Persia, and while the mighty armies of this

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appealing to his ambition. At length Darius resolved no longer to delay the accomplishment of his designs. He recalled Mardonius, whose energy, indeed, had not been proportioned to his powers, and appointed two other generals—Datis, a native of the warlike Media, and Aristophanes, his own nephew, son to the former satrap of that name. These were expressly ordered to march at once against Eretria and Athens. And Hippas, now broken in frame, advanced in age, and after an exile of twenty years, accompanied the Persian army," expecting to be restored to the Attic throne.—**RISE AND FALL OF ATHENS**, vol. 1, page 265.



weak prince were being collected for the invasion of his native land, however destitute of Persian wealth and luxury, the deep and inherent love which he bore his country, notwithstanding his persecutions, overcame and conquered his vindictive spirit; reversing his action, he became its friend, and once more experienced the tender and virtuous feelings of a patriot. It appears that when Xerxes called on him for his advice he presented the truth in such manner to deter, if it were possible, the king from pursuing the course which had been elected, and thereby arrest a calamity which, as it seemed to him, by the immense preparations, foreshadowed more the ruin of his country than of his enemies. The love he bore the former triumphed over the hatred he harbored against the latter. The nature of his whole conduct at the Persian court was designed to prepare his nation to avoid the blow aimed at its independent life. Although he had received every attention that was adapted in its nature to cause a forgetfulness of his exile and diminish the love of his native land, he, nevertheless, remembered with endearment the home of his youth, his friends and the national civilization to which he belonged.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Rollin says "that this Demaratus was one of the two kings of Sparta, who, being exiled by the faction of his enemies, had taken refuge at the Persian court, where he was entertained with the greatest marks of honor and beneficence. \* \* \* This prince was very much esteemed in Persia;

From these facts, if we may believe the conclusions of common sense, by the malicious conduct of the higher classes, Demaratus was driven into exile. At Sparta, as at Athens, it was dangerous for one person to unite in himself virtue and ability. By the defamation of such by the great, the ignorant were deceived and became dangerous enemies. Old Demaratus, who had all the former part of his Grecian life been surrounded by the corruption of his rank, and to considerable extent had imitated their vices, could not overcome the latent virtue of his nature, and he grieved as he beheld the ruin which threatened the land of his nativity. The active existence of his indignation, carried out by a spirit of revenge, showed that he was alternately swayed by virtue and by vice. His love of country was called into active life only when proper objective causes were presented to his reason.

The character of Pausanias was as depraved as the position which he occupied was potential. After the relief which the united fleets of Athens and Lacedæmon had rendered those cities which, during the invasion of Greece by Xerxes, had been reduced to his

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but neither the injustice of the Spartan citizens, nor the kind treatment of the Persian king, could make him forget his country. As soon as he knew that Xerxes was making preparations for the war, he found means to give the Grecians secret intelligence of it. And now, being obliged on this occasion to speak his sentiments, he did it with such a noble freedom and dignity as became a Spartan and a king of Sparta."—*ANCIENT HISTORY*, vol. 1, page 252, Cincinnati edition.

domination, and their maritime armaments directed to the Hellespont, they took the city of Byzantium, in which were many families of the greatest influence in the empire of Persia. It was not here that Pausanias fell, but where he exhibited the evidences of a past fallen condition. The depravity into which this man had been lowered, previously to the taking of Byzantium, is almost past conception. Individuals do not, all at once, begin to fall and commit crimes in synchroniety. There is, first of all, a falling away of the humane sentiments, a gradual degeneration in the moral faculties of the mind, before individual action in the commission of wrong. Causes which, however little known to himself, had been in active operation for a long time, destroying his moral nature. It is not here assumed that he received an average amount of this quality by hereditament. But there is as much reason to believe that he derived from this source as much as any other of his rank, in the absence of proof to the contrary. Like the millions of to-day, who feed upon appearances rather than upon realities, Pausanias was seduced into the exhibition of his shallow condition by the gaudy appearances, the vain pretensions, and seemingly moral but profligate manners of these Persian families. Rich attire and external accomplishments in behavior, concealed the turpitude into which they

had been bred or fallen after the period of adolescence.

He designed first to bribe all the most influential persons that he could, money having been advanced for this purpose by Xerxes.<sup>39</sup> He also agreed to deliver the principal Greek cities into the hands of this potentate. Pausanias at the time was in command of the Lacædemonian fleet, and hence held a dangerous power from the people over them, and was, therefore, able to make the position of the Hellenists critical and uncertain in the extreme. He not only had the depravity to betray his country, but he and Artabazas both added murder to treason. In order to effectually conceal the traces of their conspiracy, each put to death the messengers sent by the other in his communication.<sup>40</sup> Pausanias had been twice arrested and acquitted on a charge of treason.

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<sup>39</sup> "Pausanias, who from this time conceived thoughts of betraying his country, thought proper to make use of this opportunity to gain the favor of Xerxes. To this end he caused a report to be spread among his troops, that the Persian noblemen, whom he had committed to the guard and care of one of his officers, had made their escape by night and fled, whereas he had set them at liberty himself; and sent a letter to Xerxes by them, wherein he offered to deliver the city of Sparta and all Greece into his hands, on condition he would give him his daughter in marriage. The king did not fail to give him a favorable answer, and to send him very large sums of money also, in order to win over as many of the Grecians as should be disposed to enter into his designs. The person he appointed to manage this intrigue with him, was Artabazas; and in order to enable him to transact the matter with the greater ease and security, he made him governor of all the sea-coasts of Asia Minor."—ROLLIN'S ANCIENT HISTORY, vol. 1, page 268.

<sup>40</sup> "It must be observed, by the way, that this Persian governor and Pausanias had agreed together, immediately to put to death all the couriers



It was Argillias, a slave of Pausanias, that furnished sufficient evidence to convict the suspected, by putting into the hands of government officers the letter he was to have carried to the Persian satrap. To the crime of treason he coupled that of wholesale murder of his own people, to achieve the ends of a vaulting ambition. Pausanias was of royal blood, and had received the best education which was to be had in Greece. Both he and Artabazas, although men of brilliant minds quite up to if not beyond the civilization of the times, were not only destitute of principle, but guilty of the most revolting crimes. The horrid propositions which the former made to the latter were not only acceded to but executed to the letter. There is always a last act of felony in the criminal, and the crimes of which Pausanias was guilty were partly rewarded or punished by the death which followed a voluntary seclusion and starvation.<sup>41</sup> Although one may not be in favor of extreme punishment, yet he cannot but feel that there is scarcely a death so severe that such a life as his does not merit.

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they mutually sent to one another, as soon as their packets or messages were delivered, that there might be no traces left or possibility of discovering their correspondence. The Argillian, who saw none of his fellow servants that had been sent, return back again, had some suspicions; and when it came to his turn to go, he opened the letter he was entrusted with, in which Artabazas was desired to kill him as soon as he had delivered it."—ROLLIN'S ANCIENT HISTORY, vol. 1, page 269.

<sup>41</sup> "Pausanias concealed himself in the temple of Pallas, and there starved to death."—IBID., vol. 1, page 269.



The conduct of Themistocles, by his secret correspondence with Pausanias, seemed to implicate him in the conspiracy to subordinate all Greece to the sway of a corrupt descendant of Cyrus. He had no hope to escape in case of trial, so he fled to the court of Xerxes, and became governor of provinces to him who, by the conspiracy already mentioned, was to have been master of Greece. The exact relation Themistocles held to the intrigue, if any at all, has never been satisfactorily fathomed, probably never will be. As the beginning of the life of Themistocles, and his subsequent career, were worse than that of Pausanias toward the state, up to the time of the latter's conspiracy, and as also virtue is not derived by the practice of evil, such being the life of Themistocles, there is little reason to believe that the end of his career was graced with more exalted principles. Crime increases individual depravity as age advances.

If Pausanias was unprincipled in ambition, Themistocles was not less so. If the former was a murderer, the latter was a thief; and both were traitors. As we, elsewhere, have seen, he caused the ostracism of Aristides, one of the most just of men, because the latter stood honestly in the way of the former's advancement to power. The latter kept the people of Athens constantly informed of their rights and the frauds practiced upon them by the public men of the

state. Thus interfered with and checked by one as able as honest, they resolved to get rid of him, and hence the movement for his banishment. The public men of Attica and of all Greece were not only men of intelligence, but combined great mental strength with intellectual culture. The intelligent, who, as we have seen, and those whose careers will be hereafter noticed, were all, except now and then an individual, corrupt to the very verge of total depravity.

In the ostracism of Cimon, in all probability, it was the banishment of one who was wholly guiltless of the crimes of which he was convicted. Very few were subjected to the ostracism, who were justly worthy of expulsion. It became rather a means to remove political rivals than a penalty for crimes, toward the end of the period which forever closed up republican freedom in Greece. Although the youth of Cimon was marked by irregularity, his after life was that of nobleness, and, to some extent, that of justice.<sup>42</sup>

Wherever charges are brought against persons, whether true or false, they furnish evidence of the character of the men of whom conviction is sought, or

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<sup>42</sup> "Thus himself gay and convivial, addicted to company, wine and women, he encouraged shows and spectacles; he invested them with magnificence."—*RISE AND FALL OF ATHENS*, vol. 2, 273.

"The ill reputation he had drawn upon himself having prejudiced the people against him, he at first was very ill received by them: when, being discouraged by repulse, he resolved to lay aside all thoughts of concerning himself with public business."—*ANCIENT HISTORY*, vol. 1, page 275.

of the moral qualities of those making them. This may be considered as nearly true at all times among all mankind. And this we believe to be a good rule for the ascertainment of the moral condition of those in Hellas, who had not arrived by fortune at such a degree of political eminence as to hold the first positions of official stations, and, as a consequence, their conduct not so interwoven with the affairs of state as to make them necessary to be traced by historians when studying the history of a nation. This rule is true in its application, and cannot be dispensed with in contemplating the social movements of mankind. This, among other methods, we have used in arriving at the moral condition of the higher classes. Contemporary and subsequent historians record the crimes, and the character of the charges above mentioned, the nature of the times, the excitability of the lower ranks, and such surrounding circumstances as enable us, providing care and attention are used in the investigation, to contemplate the predominant traits of mentality in any given class. When Alcibiades was charged with disfiguring the statues of Mercury, at the time the fleet which he commanded was to have sailed for the coast of Sicily, may be regarded as evidence of the religious character of the people; and as they looked to the gods for protection against calamities, and also their determination to punish

whoever should exhibit such a want of propriety as to insult them by defacing those things set up in their memory, produce proof of the integrity of the masses, so do they as positively establish, providing those charges were false, corruption as existing somewhere other than in the body of the people and in Alcibiades.

As we are often met, in the recital of events by historians, with only the name, perhaps, of the arraigned, and none of those who moved his trial and condemnation, so when one, or two, or more individuals, having been so engaged, are known, there are many others who followed in supporting them in every measure, their equals in all but political fame, that are unknown. And thus, in the history of Greece, those who contributed directly to the movements against Aristides, Socrates, Alcibiades and others, were equal in intellectual culture to those whose names are known as leading conspirators against the corrupt and just, were far more numerous, with no less capacity in the distortion of facts and the production of false evidence.

Alcibiades, in the seventeenth year of the Peloponnesian war, who, ostensibly at the head of the affairs of state in Attica, occupied a position which many of the learned desired, for themselves; they resolved upon his removal, if it involved his life in the fall. As much as they confided in the ignorant honesty of the masses, they, on the contrary, to effect his



overthrow, had to rely on the utter abandonment of their colleagues. The simple honesty of the one and the abasement of the other were necessary conditions to effect their object. Through the ignorance of the masses, these political demagogues were enabled to impress upon their minds the belief that Alcibiades was about to overturn the existing republican institutions and establish a despotic government.<sup>43</sup> However true this might have been prior to the preparation of the expedition for Sicily; however ambitious he might have been after regal honors, at the time of the defacement of the statues, the charge was, without the slightest doubt, wholly false, and only exhibited the turpitude of base and envious rivals. Yet the character of Alcibiades was marked by the greatest inconsistencies. He was licentious, conceited, vain,<sup>44</sup> tyrannical, overbearing and given to great

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<sup>43</sup> "As" Alcibiades "was the main obstacle to the advancement of their own popularity and credit, they concluded that, in case they could rid themselves of him, they might at once become leaders of the state. Hence they aggravated the charge, and bellowed, that those mystic frolics and the defacement of the Mercuries, struck at the very foundation of democracy, and that none of those outrageous acts had been committed without his participation."—SMITH'S TRANSLATION OF THUCYDIDES, page 228.

<sup>44</sup> "Nevertheless his high birth, his riches, the great families he was related to, and the authority of his guardian—all these things had conspired to make him exceedingly vain and haughty. He was full of esteem for himself and contempt for all others. He was preparing to enter upon the administration of public affairs, and, from his conversation, it might be presumed that he promised himself no less than to eclipse entirely the glory of Pericles, and to attack the king of Persia upon his throne."—ROLLIN'S ANCIENT HISTORY, vol. 1, page 315.



drunkenness.”<sup>45</sup> In spite of the efforts of his great master, Socrates, he continually relapsed into debauchery of every nature. He completely defeated the peace which had been negotiated and ratified by and between the states of Attica and Sparta. The war had lasted ten years, well nigh exhausting the resources of the two states and their allies. But he designedly caused a renewal of hostilities, lasting seventeen years longer, ending in the subjection of republican institutions to aristocratic power. Alcibiades had no object in the continuation of hostilities, but to satisfy his ambition by parading his political and martial abilities before the inhabitants of Greece.

When the ambassadors from Lacedæmon arrived at Athens, with full powers<sup>46</sup> to settle all differences existing between the belligerents, Alcibiades secretly represented to them that in the event of their making a statement to that effect before the people, the latter would become furious and resort to violence. They

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<sup>45</sup> Rollin says of him that he was liable to great extremes, either “an imperious master or a groveling slave; a friend to virtue and to the virtuous, or abandoned to vice and to vicious men; capable of supporting the most painful fatigues and toils, or insatiably desirous of voluptuous delights.”—*ANCIENT HISTORY*, vol. 1, page 316.

<sup>46</sup> Nicias had been opposed by Alcibiades in every effort to effect a settlement, “but happily for him, there arrived, at that very instant, ambassadors from Lacedæmon, who were invested with full powers to put an end to all disputes. Being introduced into the council, or senate, they set forth their complaints, and made their demands, which every one of the members thought very just and reasonable. The people were to give them audience the next day.”—*IBID.*

had previously said that full powers of negotiation and ratification had been granted them by their government. Were there no intervention, the people of both sections desired peace, war would cease, and the public occupation of vain politicians and warriors—these occupations in Greece were always united in one—would be brought to a close. It therefore became necessary for him, to be able to keep himself constantly before the public, to make some powerful interposition. He said, in the event of the ambassadors stating that they were not fully empowered, he would assist them, and thus avoid the violence of the multitude and effect their object. This he took a solemn oath to do. But the next day, at the convention, he purposely and premeditatedly committed the blackest perjury against the embassy and the state.<sup>47</sup>

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47 "Acibiades, who was afraid they [the ambassadors] would succeed with them, used his utmost endeavors to engage the ambassadors [of Sparta] in a conference with him. He represented to them, that the council always behaved with the utmost moderation and humanity toward those who addressed them, but the people were haughty and extravagant in their pretensions; that should they mention full powers, the people would not fail to take advantage of this circumstance, and oblige them to agree to whatever they should take into their heads to ask. He concluded with assuring them, that he would assist them with all his credit, in order to get Pylus restored to them, to prevent the alliance with the people of Argos, and to get that with them renewed; and he confirmed all these promises with an oath. The ambassadors were extremely well pleased with this conference, and greatly admired the profound policy and vast abilities of Alcibiades, whom they looked upon as an extraordinary man; and, they were not mistaken in their conjecture.

"On the morrow, the people being assembled, the ambassadors were introduced. Alcibiades asked them, in mild terms, the subject of their embassy, and the purport of the powers with which they were invested.

He caused the disastrous expedition to Sicily, was recalled and condemned to death. He avoided the extreme penalty of the law by making his escape to the kingdom of Sparta, where, by his artful accomplishments in dissimulation, he contributed to the ruin of his country.

But he did not long remain in Sparta, as he soon relapsed again into the habits of the voluptuary, and ruined the domestic happiness of king Agis;<sup>48</sup> not only incurred the envy, but was hated and despised by all intelligent men of Sparta. They envied him

They immediately answered, that they were come to propose an accommodation, but were not empowered to conclude anything. The words were no sooner spoken, than Alcibiades exclaims against them; declares them to be treacherous knaves; calls on the council as witnesses to the speech they had made the night before; and desires the people not to believe or hear men who so impudently advanced falsehoods, and spoke and prevaricated so unaccountably, as to say one thing one day, and the very reverse on the next.

"Words could never express the surprise and confusion with which the ambassadors were seized, who, gazing at one another, could not believe their eyes and ears. Nicias, who did not know the treacherous stratagem of Alcibiades, could not conceive the motive of this charge, tortured his brain to no purpose to find out the reason of it." The peace about to be concluded was entirely defeated by this bad faith of Alcibiades.—ROLLINS'S ANCIENT HISTORY, vol. 1, page 316.

<sup>48</sup> "No reasons are assigned for the difference between Alcibiades and Agis. Numbers of probable ones might occur from the different tempers and manners of the persons: but we learn, from Plutarch, that Alcibiades had been intriguing with Timæa, the wife of Agis, and had had a son by her who was called Leotychides, disowned afterward by Agis, and incapacitated from succeeding to the throne. Alcibiades was always dissolute; and yet this, it seems, was merely to gratify his pride, since he declared his intention in this intrigue, to have been that his descendants might reign at Sparta. This fine gentleman from Athens was exceedingly agreeable in the eyes of her Spartan majesty; even though his deportment at Sparta was such as if he had been trained from his birth in the severe discipline of Lycurgus. He was a thorough Spartan, shaved close, plunged into cold water, could make a meal on dry bread, and feast on black broth."—THUCYDIDES, lib. 8, page 299. Smith.

because he led the people captive; they hated him for the same reason and those great abilities with which they could not hope to compete; they despised him for his utter destitution of principle. Their compound hatred of his great and bad qualities, caused by his conduct among them, pronounced a second sentence of death against him. He fled from a people whose happiness he could not crush, from an educated class whom he could not trample under his feet.<sup>49</sup>

We have discovered that he rewarded the protectors of his life with the basest ingratitude. The difficulties which he had brought upon himself, he attempted to flee from, and took refuge at the court of Persia, at which, like many of his evil-doing predecessors, he intrigued for his country's ruin. Seeing that its utter extinction was about to be his handiwork; that he could not be commended except for evil by demons to the inhabitants of their abode; that his final restoration to his native land, if at all, would be rather a

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49 "In the meantime, several of Ionia declared for Lacedæmon, to which Alcibiades contributed very much. Agis, who was already his enemy in consequence of the injury he had received from him, could not endure the glory he had acquired; for nothing was done without the advice of Alcibiades, and it was generally said that the success of all enterprises was owing to him. The most powerful and ambitious of the Spartans, from the same sentiments of jealousy, looked upon him with an evil eye, and at length, by their intrigues, obliged the principal magistrate to send orders into Ionia for putting him to death. Alcibiades, being secretly apprized of this order, did not discontinue his services to the Lacedæmonians, but kept himself so well upon his guard, that he avoided all the snares laid for him."—ROLLIN'S ANCIENT HISTORY, vol. 1, page 334.



re-introduction to tenantless villages, desolate fields, and desecrated grave-yards, his heart, under his selfish nature, repented, not for the many crimes which he had committed, but for the defeat, which was now apparent, to the darling objects of his ambition.

The war in Sicily, in which he had involved the Athenians,<sup>50</sup> had come to an end, and noble old Nicias, who had opposed it at its commencement, buried his bones in that distant island, in attempting to serve the vain glory of his country. Although Alcibiades had been the immediate cause of the war, he injured its interests, betrayed his companions in arms by treacherously inducing the allies of the Athenians to revolt, and intriguing an alliance of Italy, Lacedæmon, Syracuse, and the empire of Persia, against that little state of Attica, his birth-place, which had educated, and conferred honors upon him, in which also reposed the remains of his ancestors.

At length the republican government fell before the unprincipled demagogues of Athens,<sup>51</sup> and the army,

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<sup>50</sup> "But the person who most influenced this ardor, [the conquest of Sicily,] was Alcibiades, by feeding the people with splendid hopes, with which he himself was forever filled or rather intoxicated."—ROLLIN'S ANCIENT HISTORY, vol. 1, page 317.

<sup>51</sup> Rollin says that the corrupt politicians, after they had done away with the old political institutions of Athens, "elected new magistrates out of their own body, observing the usual ceremonies upon such occasions. They did not think proper to recall those who were banished, lest they should be obliged to authorize the return of Alcibiades, of whose uncontrollable spirit they were apprehensive, and would soon have made himself master of the



alarmed for those popular rights which had existed for a hundred years, recalled him, and raised him once more to the command of the Attic forces.<sup>52</sup> He immediately accepted the chieftaincy of that army to which he was in hostile attitude, entirely reversing his political position, and those, who an hour before were his friends, engaged in a common cause, were now become his foes. He could not, however, undo his greatest work of treason; his country was sinking beneath the blows of the civilized world, its liberty, its independence, as well as those of all Greece, were almost in effectual destruction.

He had no feelings of compassion, as his acts prove too clearly he cared not what sufferings he inflicted on the innocent, the helpless; he had no conscience, as he did not respect the rights of others; all interests, all law, whether human or divine, were subordinated to his selfish ambition. His moral and religious natures, as well as the honor of a respectable manhood, were in the service of his sensual appetites. He

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people. Abusing their power in a tyrannical manner, some were put to death others they banished, confiscating their lands with impunity. All who ventured to oppose this change, or even to complain of it, were butchered upon false pretexts; and those would have met with a bad reception, who demanded justice of the murderers. The four hundred, soon after their establishment, sent ten deputies to Samos to gain the concurrence of the army."—ROLLIN'S ANCIENT HISTORY, page 336.

<sup>52</sup> "All that had passed at Athens was already known there," [Samos,] "and the news had enraged the soldiers to the highest degree. They deposed several of their chiefs, whom they suspected, and put others into their places, Alcibiades was recalled, and chosen *generallissimo*."—*IBID.*

was an inebriate, a libertine, a perjurer, a traitor, and a murderer.

Alcibiades was among the most able political minds that Greece ever produced; he had been educated in the most recondite branches of learning, under the tuition of the ablest masters. According to the prevailing theory, his moral qualities should have been as much exalted as his education was superior to that of ordinary mortals. But, by the guidance of observation, very few persons, on the contrary, in the whole history of Greece, could be found more degraded in their moral nature. Education did nothing to elevate him in virtue, but it is perfectly evident, that his capacity for evil was increased by it. Metaphysicians, or those educators who view everything from a basis of metaphysics, deny possible hereditary qualities; and if, according to this doctrine, he had an equal organization for good and for evil with the rest of mankind, and, as he possessed a greater intellectuality and a more extended education than the majority of Grecian learned men, he should have been less debased.

If the circumstances surrounding the individual wholly form his character, and if, also, education cultivate the moral faculties of the mind, as Mr. Buckle, a good representative of this theory, alleges is true in both instances, the higher classes of Greece should

have possessed this quality in greater predominance than any other contemporary race. Before the fallen liberties of this nation had been made the basis for the conquest of the world by a Philip and an Alexander, the learned classes had carried the culture of the intellectual powers to a more extended degree than any people of their time then in the world. But instead of finding the educated classes bettered under the moral law; instead of its rendering them more virtuous than the ignorant portion whom they despised, they were only sharpened in their appetite for evil: in proportion to the development of their intellectual powers, they fell from moral position and became the most debased of mankind, except the Jews just before their dispersion; and from that day to this, we firmly believe, no class of men in the different nations of the earth, not even the worst leaders of the Jacobin clubs of the French revolution, have presented such perfect perfidiousness.

It has been shown in this work, the manner in which these two extreme conditions are wrought. The immoral and the intellectual conditions of the learned classes are traversed by the author, for the purpose of exposing the false theoretical principles, or defective system of education, then prevalent and now in vogue in this country. Its progress is now more rapid than it was then, and if the defect be not corrected,

the most deplorable consequences may be expected. The elements of disintegration are now at work in all portions of the Union, and if some more correct method of education be not established to form a different character in the rising generation to arrest its progress, a *bellum intelecium* will ensue, our cities be laid in ashes, or the republic destroyed; the principles of autocracy superseding those of autonomy. In the next chapter we shall show that Christianity cannot, and, in fact, no other system of religion can, check that increase of evil now everywhere so apparent. Defective systems of education and ecclesiastical errors have been productive of great injury to the primitive elements of morality; and we shall, in its proper place, proceed to show, by such a statement of facts as enables us to comprehend the truth of those allegations, their bearings on mental life.

At the first opportunity, that is, when the affairs of government in Athens had become desperate by the length of the war, they, being opposed in finances by the treasuries of Persia in addition to those of Lacedæmon and her allies, the dispiriting of the people by their late defeats, and the prospective ruin of not only the state but of the city itself, from a Phœnician fleet which was approaching it, in co-operation with allied armies, the higher or learned classes, both civil and military, those in command of the armies, and those



also in charge of the administration of civil authority, betrayed the interests of the people, by disposing of all laws of republican equality, and establishing oligarchial ones in their stead. To this the Athenians were brought by the designed conduct of the educated, of whom Alcibiades was but a fair representative. In concert with the nobles, he represented to the people, after holding out to them the calamities which were impending, that if the democracy were abolished, he could the more easily obtain favor of the Persian king, as this person, exercising sovereign power, placed more confidence in the agreement of a privileged aristocracy than in a people wielding popular rights.<sup>53</sup> And this he well knew to be wholly and totally false, for the sovereign of Persia had, for more than a hundred years, been burdened by fugitives of this class from the Hellenic states, who had gone abroad to avoid execution at home for their crimes. This immoral condition of the educated of Greece was perfectly understood by all intelligent nations having commerce

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53 "Alcibiades, who was well informed of all that passed among the Athenians, sent secretly to the principal of them at Samos, to sound their sentiments, and to let them know that he was not averse to returning to Athens, providing the administration of the republic were put into the hands of the great and powerful, and not left to the populace, who had expelled him. Some of the principal officers went from Samos, with designs to concert the proper measures for the success of that undertaking. He promised to procure the Athenians not only the favor of Tissaphernes," [Persian satrap,] "but of the king himself, upon condition they would abolish the democracy or popular government; because the king would place more confidence in the engagements of the nobility, than upon those of the inconstant and capricious multitude."—ROLLIN'S ANCIENT HISTORY, vol. 1, page 335.



with them. Like "Punic faith," "Grecian duplicity" was common to the knowledge of mankind, having its origin in the conduct of the nobles only of that nation, and confined to them in its application.

Toward the close of the war of the Peloponnesus, the learned feared nothing so much as each other. Political animosities, bitter rivalries, and the utter want of humanity toward enemies, imported that the nobles had become a generation of thugs.

The foregoing general declarations are thoroughly supported by historical facts, and to crown every act of wrong, coeval with their education, the nobles accepted the conditions proposed by a criminal and traitor to his country, as a thing desired by them, in the deposition of the virtuous from all share in the enactment of legislative laws. This they wrought by a systematic deception of the populace. As Alcibiades had betrayed every cause to which he had been pledged; so had all his colleagues. The only difference between him and the rest of the learned was, in this respect, the great superiority of his natural ability and boldness. At the time the proposition was made by him for a change of the republic into an aristocracy, his class had already brought the government to ruin, and the people of Attica to a considerable degree of extinction.

After the war in Sicily, in which, by his own

personal influence, he had engaged the Athenians, had proceeded to hostilities, he caused a revolt of the allies of the latter; he then proceeded to Sparta, exposing those designs which he himself had planned and pledged himself to execute against Syracuse, Carthage and Lacedæmon. He then betrayed those obligations which he had made to the people dwelling in the land of his asylum; and his course in Sparta was so villainously depraved, that even the infamous of that celebrated state could no longer endure his base conduct, his double treachery to friend and foe, and they accordingly pronounced sentence of death against him. Although jealousy of his brilliant intellectuality had exercised the feelings of the Spartan aristocracy, they had, notwithstanding, just ground to complain of the crimes which he committed among them.

In the event of the reconstruction of the government, those who wielded authority at Athens, represented to the people that if they sacrificed the sovereignty, which properly belonged to them, until the state should be extricated from the extinction, as a nation, by which it was threatened, legislative power should revert to the people.<sup>54</sup> It was this

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<sup>54</sup> "Pysander was sent to Athens with some of the same faction, to propose the return of Alcibiades, an alliance with Tissaphernes, and the abolition of the democracy. They represented that, by changing the government and

sort of systematic deception, by taking advantage of the people in the distresses of their hopes and fears, that the democratic constitution of Attica was overthrown by those who should have been its protectors, being at the time its pretended guardians.

The soldiery, after the events which had occurred at Athens were known to them, would no longer obey the commands nor tolerate the presence of those leading military officers, who, in violation of the law, had been concerned in the conspiracy to convert the freedom of the people into a condition of vassalage to four hundred tyrants. They, therefore, relieved them from all official obligation to the army, and elected men, possessing both virtue and ability, from their own ranks, and resolved to firmly defend the state against a common enemy from without, and against those who had become traitors to the cause of the republic, from within.<sup>55</sup>

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recalling Alcibiades, Athens might obtain a powerful aid from the king of Persia, which would be a certain means to triumph over Sparta. Upon this proposal great numbers" of the people] "exclaimed against it, and especially the enemies of Alcibiades. But Pysander, advancing into the midst of the assembly, demanded whether they knew any other means to save the republic in the deplorable condition to which it was reduced; and as it was admitted there were none he added that the preservation of the state was the question and not the authority of the laws, which might be provided for in the sequel. \* \* \* Though this change was very offensive to the people, they gave their consent to it at length, with the hope of re-establishing the democracy hereafter, as Pysander had promised, and they decreed that he should go with ten more deputies to treat with Alcibiades and Tissaphernes."—ROLLIN'S ANCIENT HISTORY, vol. 1, page 335.

55 "The army accordingly organized itself as an independent state. It held meetings as a legislative assembly; it claimed for itself the revenues

The nation, by the vices of the higher classes, divorced its political body from the people and the army, to the latter of which they were, by the very terms of civilization, bound to furnish every encouragement and support, especially when it was opposed by forces which greatly outnumbered it. The condition of this nation was most deplorable. One of the officers of the army, who had gone from Samos to the capital, returned and represented the state of affairs at Athens, with a full description of the terror that reigned supreme in the environments of the city. "No man's life," he stated to the army, "was any longer safe there, and no woman's honor. Those in power shrank from no deed of violence, and," he added, "intended to bring into their power the families of the men serving on the fleet, in order, by detaining the former as hostages, to reduce the latter to submission." The army had to resolve itself into a body politic, as the educated, with a hired army of assassins, had mastered the people at the capital.

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from the allies; it proceeded to fresh elections, in order to remove all suspicious persons from the post of general, and to transfer the command to proved men of its own choice. Thus Thrasybulus and Thrasyllus were elected generals, and in face of the double enemy now opposed to the army, there prevailed in the latter a fuller concord and a more ardent spirit than ever. Even without the aid of the faithless city, her soldiers felt strong and sufficient in themselves; and if they should not be able to return, they at all events had in their possession ships and arms, by which they might obtain for themselves a new city and country."—CURTIUS' HISTORY OF GREECE, vol. 3, page 470.



Of the Athenian allies, most of them had revolted for no other apparent reason than because half of the civilized world were in arms against the little state of Attica. Peloponnesus and her allies; Persia, with her mighty treasuries; the revolted provinces had become aggressive enemies;<sup>56</sup> Syracuse<sup>57</sup> and Phœnicia<sup>58</sup>, were all in belligerent hostility to this unhappy nation; and their fleets on the sea, their numerous armies on the land, were in proximity to the capital, hovering around it, waiting only for a favorable opportunity to give the finishing blow to Attic existence. Athenian finances were exhausted, the large property holders distressed, the mercantile trade of the city, by constant interruption, broken off and destroyed; part of the poor had perished, and those that remained rendered poorer by the length of the war; and farmers impoverished by the payment of those taxes which the government had been forced to make. Almost every

<sup>56</sup> "In fact, the people of Eubœa, Chio and Lesbos, with several others, gave the Lacedæmonians to understand that they were ready to quit the party of the Athenians, if they would take them under their protection.

"He" [Alcibiades] "embarked with Chalcidæus for Chio, which took up arms upon their arrival and declared for the Lacedæmonians. Miletus also soon after revolted."—ROLLIN'S ANCIENT HISTORY, vol. 1, page 334.

<sup>57</sup> "But before the blockade of the city" [Miletus] "was complete, a new fleet made its approach. It was the most dangerous of all their enemies, Hermocrates, who again prevented the Athenians from achieving the victory which they already deemed certain. He had caused himself to be sent, with twenty vessels from Syracuse and two from Selinus, to continue the war of vengeance in the Ægean, and to inflict upon Athens her death blow."—CURTIUS' HISTORY OF GREECE, vol. 3, page 442.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid. 446.



family was in mourning for those which had been lost in the long and bitter conflict. A large part of the male population had been cut off, leaving a great disproportion of one sex to the other. In consequence of this fall of the idolized, the army were more saddened, dispirited and weakened than at any other phase of corruption which the war had developed. In addition, a civil war was now threatened between the people and the aristocracy, in consequence of the intrigues of the latter to establish unlimited power at the expense of the masses. Doubt and despair, at the melancholy aspect of surrounding circumstances, presented themselves on every side.

Such was the inauspicious condition of this unfortunate republic, when these—shall we, through the false delicacy of the age, hesitate to pronounce such descriptive terms as are applicable to their qualities—matchless wretches destroyed the last consolation of a good citizen, for which the army and state for two-thirds of a generation, had been contending. Far better were it for Attica to be in socage to the constitutional crown of Sparta, than to make greater contributions, without any sort of liberty, to four hundred tyrants of despicable character. Did the educated of this republic in those troublous times, which were the turning point in the history of all Greece, try to arrest the country from the conquest

which now threatened it? From a position of unparalleled pecuniary prosperity, of peace, and of opulence, the people were forced into an almost endless war, by them, more ruinous to Greece than beneficial to the contemporary nations of the earth.

They had, as before hinted, represented to the masses that an oligarchy would be more respected for integrity with the kingdom and satrapy of Persia, better command their confidence, enabling the state to effect a loan with which to continue the war. The state treasury had been so often depleted and replenished by the tax gatherer of the state, that the latter could not now raise funds to defray the costs of civil administration.<sup>59</sup> In these dire necessities, which now more than ever pressed from all sides upon the republic, the people at the capital listened with some degree of patience to a proposition of change in the constitution. It was also understood by the masses that if means were obtained, Attica would recover her revolted provinces, and thus be able, in the end, to preserve the union of her dominions. They farther represented that in the form to which the change was to be effected, there would be no essential

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<sup>59</sup> "The democracy was far too costly a thing to admit of being carried on after the revolt of the allies; in the present period of financial dearth, it was impossible simply to collect the pay for the council, the courts of justice, and the public assemblies."—CURTIUS' HISTORY OF GREECE, vol. 3, page 463.

alteration in the principles of government.<sup>60</sup> From a partial acquiescence of the multitude, the learned proceeded to take unwarranted liberties till the republican government was entirely removed.<sup>61</sup>

After the learned had so initiated the people that they would not be alarmed at slight departures from the former usages of government, they supplied themselves with ruffians armed with concealed lethal weapons, for the assassination of such as should give evidence of opposition, or dissatisfaction of the tyrannical usurpation.<sup>62</sup> Thus prepared, they proceeded to act, to establish themselves in power. It will readily occur, from a view of their preparation, that they did not hesitate as to the means they were to employ, were it necessary to sacrifice every citizen in Athens. In spite of education, the great moralizer of those who place their hopes upon the old system of

<sup>60</sup> On this head an able and reliable author has represented the oligarchs as saying: "But it does not follow that on this account popular rights should be abolished; a civic body was to continue to exist, but not in the same form as hitherto."—CURTIUS' HISTORY OF GREECE, vol. 3, page 463.

<sup>61</sup> "These were the theories which now zealously spread, and which, owing to the talents and sophistic artifices of their advocates, met with undeniable success. The conspirators advanced in their proceedings step by step in order to prepare the decisive coup d'etat; they passed from permitted means to unpermitted, from persuasion to force; for it was one of their sophistic principles that it is unnecessary to be over conscientious in the pursuit of a good end."—IBID., page 464.

<sup>62</sup> "They had a common fund for their purposes, and held venal men in readiness to act as their instruments, as well as armed followers, hired abroad and fully prepared for any kind of service."—IBID., page 464.

metaphysics, they preferred to rule supreme over the dead bodies of their victims, than live in equality and harmony with them. They murdered in cold blood a great many of the people who had no political consideration with the public, and made themselves so terrible that no one dare whisper his opinions regarding the constitutional crisis or the murders committed.<sup>63</sup> Many bodies of well known citizens were found in the thoroughfares of the city, which had been secretly stabbed by the hired mercenaries of these tyrants; and fear, through their heartless acts, had so seized the people, that the latter had not the courage to enquire as to who committed the deeds. Secret organizations were formed by them, and were under the special direction of these despotic assassins, for the purposes of murder, and their deeds of this kind were so frequently and stealthily performed, that they filled every mind with horror, and paralyzed the courage of the inhabitants of Athens. It was by such means as these that they finally triumphed over the friends of the constitution,

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63 "Thus Androcles was got rid of by assassination; and after him other victims fell. No enquiry was ventured as to the authors of these crimes. Those who were not members of the secret clubs were awed into silence; and the power of these clubs seemed doubly great, because it worked in the dark; liberty of speech was suppressed, and the action of the legitimate organs of the State were crippled; the Probuli were either in the plot, or were aged and infirm persons; the council was accustomed to be the mere shadow of authority; and the civic body lacked both leaders and union."—CURTIUS' HISTORY OF GREECE, vol. 3, page 464.



stamping out the former and then the latter, first by a system of deception, and then by taking the lives of the people. By the fear which they impressed on the minds of the people, they effected a complete destruction of the democratic government.<sup>64</sup>

Before their fall from power, instead of supporting or strengthening the army in its opposition to the enemies which now, more than ever, pressed upon every portion of the state, they entered into secret treaty of peace with Sparta<sup>65</sup> for the recognition of their own government, irrespective of the cost in dominions to the state, if they could only perpetuate their own aristocratic power over the people of the nation. It will readily be seen that no one of the conspirators could expect to conclude a peace with Sparta without surrendering up to her some provinces, as she already had most of them in her power at the time of the embassy. The true method, or better course to have pursued, would have been, had they the interests of the people as their desire, to have recovered the provinces as far

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64 "Externally the forms of the constitution still continued in existence; but the actual government was in the hands of the conspirators, who declared their intention with increasing openness, till at last the Athenians, full of fear and utterly dispirited, consented to regard the alteration of the constitution."—CURTIUS' HISTORY OF GREECE, vol. 3, page 461.

65 "After, however, this attempt had failed, he" [king of Sparta] "gave a friendly reception to a second embassy from Athens, and encouraged the Athenians immediately to dispatch deputies to Sparta to conclude peace in the name of the four hundred."—IBID., page 467.



as possible, to have beaten off the enemy, and then tendered peace. Otherwise no favorable terms of peace to the state could be expected. But an honorable peace to the nation was not the wish nor the design of the tyrants. It was the hatred which the people of Attica bore despotic principles, that fired them during this long war—a fear of finally falling under the Spartan despotism. It was the mutual jealousy of these two states, that, at the rising supremacy of the one, the other would become eventually subordinate to the peculiar laws, free or aristocratic, of the other.

The conspirators did not design to yield up the provinces, or make equivalent propositions, without concessions from Sparta, of a military character, to support their tyrannical government over the people of Attica.<sup>66</sup> Upon a rupture occurring, caused by jealousy,<sup>67</sup> among them, they proceeded to take the

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66 In support of this, a reliable author alleges that "they were resolved, if no other way should be left open to them, to rule their native city" [Athens], "even under the protection of Peloponnesian troops; for in their eyes the supremacy of their party passed all other considerations. Antiphon, Phrynichus, and Archetolemus accordingly proceeded to Sparta, in order to enter into fresh negotiations."—CURTIUS' HISTORY OF GREECE, vol. 3, p. 480.

67 The leaders of the tyrannical party desired to construct a fort in the vicinity of the city, for the purpose of receiving the Spartan forces which were to support their claims to power. But upon the discovery, by a portion of the tyrants, that they would be thereby dispossessed of long coveted ambition by the others, they opposed the motion, endeavoring to retrace their steps, and regain that confidence of the people which they had justly forfeited.

lives of members belonging to the opposite faction.<sup>68</sup> It was not a love in the laws of democratic equality, that caused this division, but a fear, in a part of the four hundred, that they themselves would fall into that bondage which they had helped to prepare for the people, and thus was caused their efforts to protect themselves from that thralldom which threatened all.<sup>69</sup> As already seen, they were determined to force themselves as rulers upon the people without their consent, supported by the arms of Sparta. This was their design, irrespective of the interests of the masses, and they were bound to carry these measures into effect, were it at the expense of one half of the lives of the inhabitants of the republic. They were perfectly regardless of all sentiments of justice, and callous to all feelings of humanity. Far worse were they, than he, who upon the highway attacks and relieves the traveler of his gold, for when the highwayman has attained this one object, he is satisfied with the result.

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68 "The first object of vengeance was Phrynichus. Scarcely had he returned from the odious embassy to Sparta, when he was assassinated one evening not far from the council-house, in the densely crowded market place."—CURTIUS' HISTORY OF GREECE, vol. 3, page 481.

69 "And now the opposite party (occasioned by the split) restrained itself no longer; for they perceived their own ruin to be involved in the completion of the fastness in the Piræus, and in the success of these treasonable designs. The moderates were their only chance of safety in joining the popular party. Thus, then, a counter revolution was plotting among the four hundred themselves, and in secret conferences the victims were marked out, who were to be sacrificed to the hatred of citizens, and sacrificed with all possible publicity, in order to test their authority."—*IBID.*, pages 480-81.

This was not the case with these tyrants, as they were called by the Greeks. The tendency of the government, which they were endeavoring to establish, was a direction of the revenues of the state to their own uses, and by such means of taxation, incident to despotic power, to secure to themselves the servitude or vassalage of the rest of the state. This is what was meant by tyrannical governments in ancient times. It was not the form of its organization, but the effect which it had upon the people to oppress them, that made it odious; and of whatever form it may be, if it be partial in the enactment of its laws and their administration; that is, if the rulers extended advantages to some which they denied to others, it became despotic to those whose rights were in suppression.<sup>70</sup> This was the condition to which the tyrants conspired to subject the inhabitants of Attica.<sup>71</sup>

What education there was to be had in those days, these men had possessed themselves by long and close study. Be it remembered that it was an intellectual

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70 In America, before the slave-holders' rebellion, a portion of the inhabitants were held in slavery, and the profits arising from their labor passed to those who were denominated their masters. The government of the United States, although a republic, was to the slaves the most oppressive kind of despotism. From the relation which the one bore to the other, cannot but lead a rational mind to this conclusion.

71 It will readily occur to him who is acquainted with the history of Greece, that these tyrants had no other object, just before the close of the war, but the establishment of an absolute government.

and religious culture and none other. These two systems have been in existence for five thousand years at least, and continue to be the only ones at the present day. The religious and the intellectual faculties of the mind have been the immediate objects of all education, from the earliest recorded ages. The learned of Greece, in their earlier infancy, had received that parental instruction in justice and virtue that those of more subsequent times have. But this is no culture; it is only an indoctrination of the views which another may have of certain principles. This kind of moral training has some tendencies to store the memory with both a right and a wrong understanding of the rights and wrongs of questions, but is not effective in bringing the moral feelings to vigorous and active strength. For six thousand years, mankind have been actively employed in the discovery of objects and the sciences, and the world has, all that time, been replete with religion, by which their respective faculties have been trained and disciplined to the highest development, while the moral faculties have remained abandoned as regards culture, except what little effective benefits there is in parental instruction. That these faculties have not been entirely expunged from mentality, is owing more to the efforts of nature to restore that which has been injured by the ignorance of mankind, than any disposition in man to preserve that which



was a gift to him by the creative will of Almighty God. Should one judge mankind by their acts, in an impartial manner, he must conclude that almost the whole human race are rather perverters and destroyers of truth and other attributions of nature, than students and cultivators of organic law. But we must return to our duty of exposing the true moral character of the learned of Greece by their own conduct; showing thereby that education, although not a cause, was a means, of divesting from this class of the Hellenics all causes which had a tendency to produce moral principles.

That the higher classes did not desire peace and prosperity to the state under some other (as one might suppose) more favorable form of government, such as a limited monarchy, or some equivalent, we have only to trace their acts a little farther after their first fall from that power which they held over the city of Athens, to convince us.

Before the battle of Arginusæ, the affairs of the Athenians had become the most desperate of any Greek state, by the defeats which she had received on land and sea, and the complete abandonment of almost every province which she had possessed, or its equivalent as an assistance to Attica, by conquest to Lacedæmonian arms. Her finances were exhausted, her people impoverished, and the bones of at least



one-fifth of her able-bodied males lay bleaching upon fields of battle, or buried in the bed of the ocean. The people were reduced to the utmost despair. But rather than surrender their liberty, they preferred to surrender their all. One more fleet was fitted out at Athens to defend a government which was now in the hands of the people.<sup>72</sup> It was a last hope, a last effort, almost a last act. The battle of Arginusæ was fought and victory crowned the efforts of Attic arms, and the power of Sparta and her allies upon the sea were entirely, for the time, extinguished. Lacedæmon had fallen under the mighty blow which she had received. She once more desired peace.<sup>73</sup> Now was the time for Athens to escape from a struggle which had lasted the better part of a mortal's life. The people required peace, for they were in a deplorable condition. Farmers who, before the war, were in independent

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<sup>72</sup> "It" [the fleet] "was a levy of all the remaining resources of the state, made by desperate effort; and, with a feeling that it was now a question of victory or absolute ruin, the last fleet of Athens sallied out to sea."—CURTIUS' HISTORY OF GREECE, vol. 3, page 533.

<sup>73</sup> "The Spartans were doubly discouraged by the news of the defeat, inasmuch as their highest hopes had followed their hero Callieratidas on his triumphal career. It was to be anticipated, that after this defeat the Persians would again withdraw from co-operation with the Lacedæmonians, since their money payments, after all, failed to produce any practical results. As to the Ionians, it could not be expected that they would once more show themselves ready to afford effective aid; and the Sicilian allies, the Bœotians and Eubœans, had already done their best. On what then could the hope of better future success be grounded? Accordingly once more" [Attica] "had the upper hand; and envoys were dispatched to Athens, in order to renew those offers which had been made after the battle of Cyzicus."—*IBID.*, page 536.

circumstances, were now in a state of starvation, and were begging for bread in the streets of Athens. Sackcloth and ashes, if not on the person, could be read as a characteristic expression in the countenance of every citizen and alien in the state. Now there was a "day of grace" presented to the higher orders to relieve themselves from a part of that odium as a consequent of conduct, which must in all subsequent times attach to their character.

This class well knew that the treasuries of Persia had almost constantly paid off the naval and military armaments of Sparta, and, for her own interest, would continue to do so in the future; while it was as equally well known that Attica had been compelled, in the past, and would be, in the future, to raise her own within the dominions of the republic. The latter possessed no other resource from which to fill her exchequer but by the revenues of her provinces. When she was, during this long war, and just previous to the battle of Arginusæ, deprived of these revenues by the loss of the provinces, there could be left to her no other resource, but to surrender at discretion. This she could have done very easily at the beginning of the war, and it would have been far better for her, thus to have avoided shedding blood, expending treasure, and thereby escaped the tedium of a conflict which had no other tendency but to extinguish

the prosperity of all Greece. At no time during the whole of her campaigns, was there a necessity for such a disposition of her affairs except at the close. A number of opportunities had presented themselves for settlement, and Sparta had been willing to accede to any reasonable terms, to save herself from extinction as a people, as an independent state. The higher classes of Athens were enabled, through that capacity which they had acquired for distorting facts and misrepresenting truth, by close study and long practice in duplicity, to present, at this greatest crisis of the republic, more favorable conditions for the future of the state, and thus deceiving the people, caused them to reject all considerations of peace from Sparta, short of such as would be to the latter a provincial subordination. This, that a people, as proud and stubborn as the Spartans, the Athenians well knew would reject.

In peaceful times all is quietude and happiness to the majority of mankind ; all are engaged in surrounding themselves with the comforts and conveniences of life, and any number of pure enjoyments and pleasures, alike healthful to body and mind, which, for a beneficial end, a mighty hand has bestowed upon mortal existence. It is this innocent enjoyment of human life, quite short enough for one's passage, that a good citizen wishes for all the inhabitants of his country, and, in fact, to every one on the globe. Yet

there are many individuals, always have been, and always will be, whose mental constitution amounts to a moral deformity, that are ever desirous of substituting sorrow and misfortune for bliss, blasting the happiness and hopes of mankind, whenever they can derive therefrom pecuniary advantages or political positions. This is a melancholy condition which all good regret. That most all, indeed, with very few exceptions, of those composing the higher classes of Greece at this time, were wholly and totally destitute of all moral feelings, their acts toward the people and the generals, after the latter and former had gained the victory over the enemy at Arginusæ, is most clearly established beyond the doubt of a weak and vacillating mind.

The great moral principles of the lower orders of the state, from a period long back in the past, had caused the officers of the army and navy to pay the utmost attention to the condition of the dead and the wounded, to bury the former with solemnity and honor, and to care for the latter. As no laws could be passed, causing them to do these, they must of necessity be such enactments as would deter the officers from abusing these injunctions, by attaching penalties for their violation. But no laws ever existed among the Athenians, of a punitive nature, for those insuperable difficulties, known among



lawyers in modern times as the acts of God. In no civilized state is one made responsible for misfortunes which cannot be foreseen, provided for nor prevented. The contrary would, did it exist, be characteristic of an ignorant and savage despot.

The student of Grecian history learns with regret, that the most cultivated persons of the highly civilized state of Attica, long before the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, also throughout its entire duration, were steeped in a corruption which has found few parallels, not even among the darkest pages of ancient and modern records. From political jobbers, and corrupt demagogues, figuring for positions in subjection to the sovereign will of the people, they aspired to regal power; they passed from the commissions of public crimes to private ones, from treason to the state, to the murder of public and private citizens. Before the close of the battle of Arginusæ, a furious storm had set in and made the sea so rough, that it was an impossibility for the survivors to transfer the dead and the wounded from disabled vessels to the rest of the fleet. When the storm abated, it was discovered that all the wrecks had disappeared from the surface of the deep, either driven ashore or sunken to the bottom. During the last of the action, the commanders of the forces had left a part of the fleet in the hands of subaltern officers, Theramenes and



Thrasybulus, charged to recover the dead and wounded from the sinking ships.<sup>74</sup> In making up the report of the action, the names of Theramenes and Thrasybulus had been mentioned as the officers upon whom devolved the responsibility of delivering the wrecked. But the foresight of two of the officers, who seemed to possess a clear understanding of the corrupt partizans that flooded the assemblies in the city, changed the report so as not to endanger the life of any one of their colleagues.<sup>75</sup> Although this act of Pericles and Diomedon exhibited great consideration of the rights of others, it must be remembered that this was a combination to resist those hypocritical charges that would in all probability be brought against them as a body, by those tyrants which had, a little before, fallen from power. But no sooner had the leading officers of the navy arrived in Athens, notwithstanding

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74 "The other part of the fleet was ordered, under the command of Theramenes and Thrasybulus, to save the wrecked, and to pick up the dead bodies. But a terrible northwest wind rushing down from Mount Ida made all action impossible; and when the fleet was at last able to issue from the harbor, it was too late for the accomplishment of either purpose. The storm had swept away every vestige of the battle."—CURTIUS' HISTORY OF GREECE, vol. 3, page 535.

75 "The report of the battle, drawn up by the generals by common consent, simply stated that the storm had made it impossible to save those who had been wrecked; a statement originally proposed, in which Theramenes and Thrasybulus had been mentioned by name as those who had been charged with taking measures for the purpose, had, been omitted, on the motion of Pericles and Diomedon; it being desired to have no handle for throwing suspicion on any individual persons, but rather, after the manner of faithful colleagues, to charge the entire body with the work of responsibility."—IBID., page 539.

the great victory they had gained over the enemy, than they were all, except the Judas Iscariot of their number, thrown into prison for not rescuing those who had been wrecked.<sup>76</sup> One of the very generals who had been most favored in the report, and that one who, if any were at all guilty, was the principal culprit and most at fault in neglect of duty, was the person who made the charges which sealed the fate of the rest of his colleagues.<sup>77</sup> The fallen conspirators had systematically deceived the people and wrought them up almost to a condition of frenzy,<sup>78</sup> so that when the oral report was delivered by the generals, the masses were more disposed to condemn the generals than acknowledge those obligations which they were under to the ones who had, at a signal blow, saved the state.<sup>79</sup> These learned conspirators allowed the most

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<sup>76</sup> "The six others, confiding in the justice of their cause, quietly returned to Athens and made a report by word of mouth in the council. \* \* \* \* \* On the motion of Timocrates, a member of the council, the generals were placed under arrest, and the settlement of the charges against them left to the civic body."—CURTIUS' HISTORY OF GREECE, vol. 3, page 538.

<sup>77</sup> "And although, in the present case, Theramenes was himself involved to this extent, that if any one was to blame for the death of the wrecked, he was the guilty man; yet he was resolved to take advantage of this opportunity for his party purposes, and to requite the considerate kindness evinced toward him by the generals, by appearing as their accuser, and calling them to account for neglect of their religious duty."—IBID., page 539.

<sup>78</sup> "But the most effective measures had been taken by the conspirators, to produce the desired state of mind in the people, against the day when the report of the battle was to be publicly read."—IBID., page 538.

<sup>79</sup> "Instead of the report being listened to with gratitude toward the gods, a furious outbreak of passion ensued immediately upon the mention

abandoned criminals a legal defense,<sup>80</sup> while they denied it to those who, if properly supported by good counsel and just measures, might have effected the ratification of a peace, which would have been a prosperous one to the people of the republic, and the establishment of a means by which the state might have recovered from the financial bankruptcy into which, by the shocking vices of the educated, the nation had been plunged.

And finally these generals were altogether denied the rights of trial, and after Theramenes had secretly passed around and among the private families, using his influence to inflame their minds and prejudice them against these brave and noble officers, the conspirators thought that there was sufficient prejudice acting upon the feelings of the council to warrant a conviction.<sup>81</sup> If they could completely distract the

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of the wrecked. Loud invectives were uttered against the generals for having neglected their duty; and the answer which they received to the report of a victory passing the highest hopes, was their deposition from office. It was not even thought necessary to wait for their defense."—CURTIUS' HISTORY OF GREECE, vol. 3, page 538.

80 "There was a lack of men to watch over the legality of public proceedings; and thus, at the very earliest stage of the trial, the liberty of defense belonging to the accused was illegally restricted, although only recently Aristarchus, who was universally known to have betrayed a frontier fortress to the enemy had, after falling into the hands of the Athenians, been allowed an unlimited time for his defense."—IBID., page 540.

81 In speaking of the festival of Apaturia, Curtius says: "Theramenes found in this an excellent opportunity for exciting the citizens and their wives against the generals; and although it was absolutely impossible to determine how many of the missing had fallen in the fight, and how many might possibly have been saved, had a search been subsequently instituted

people of the republic by disorder within, the state would soon have to succumb to the pressure of outward enemies, and thus triumph in their oligarchial measures over the fallen liberties of the land. They could in this manner establish themselves in power as masters over the people, who would then become slaves.

Slavery would not exist, were there not advantages resulting to the oppressors. There are two of these: one is an element of vanity, a disposition in the human mind, however weak it may be, to entertain a sentiment of superiority of self over the majority of the world, and one also which foolishly, but strongly, desires the possession of the superfluities of life. But all the considerate portions of mankind, while they acknowledge the effects of these elements upon themselves, endeavor to place them in subjection to moral principles, with a due regard for the rights of others. It is the criminal, however powerful he may be by the number of his retainers, who derives his sustenance from the misfortunes of his fellow creatures. Even the robber is satisfied when he has received what his victim for the moment has possession. But what shall

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through the field of battle, yet it was now declared to be the fault of the generals, that, on this occasion every one had to wear the black garb of mourning on the Apaturia. \* \* \* Thus, by means of a vile abuse of human feelings, a new tempest of passion was conjured up; and when this had risen to a height, the second assembly of the citizens commenced.”—**HISTORY OF GREECE**, page 541.



we call a human being, if he be such, who is satisfied with nothing short of shackling the necks of his countrymen with an odious bondage, and grinding out of them the little of a laborious life. The mind of man is not familiar with a descriptive term which fully defines the moral condition of the tyrant. Nor is one necessarily a tyrant if he wear a crown. Despotism can as easily emanate from republican politicians as from electoral or hereditary monarchs. This character of politicians or potentates may be determined by the laws which they enact.

But when we are called upon to contemplate the character of those who, desirous of living in oppression of their fellows, hesitate not to murder those that stand in the way of their advancement to power, we have altogether different persons from the mere usurpers, those more abandoned in morals and wholly given over to the revelries of the animal faculties of the mind. The moral faculties cannot be so wrought upon as to be entirely expunged from mentality, had they an existence in adolescence. Under such circumstances, a sufficiency remains to support an appearance of supremacy in the moral sentiments, while the influence of these upon the mind is very weak. This condition of the primitive mental powers is favorable for great dissimulation; an appearance of one thing, but in reality another. This mental state, together



with extensive culture, was the means by which the educated classes were enabled to gain a complete mastery of deception over the people, and by it compel them to give a helping hand to their own ruin. This, we say, was the mental status and moral condition in which we have found, by a careful investigation, the educated classes to have been just before, during and after the close of the Peloponnesian war. They had enough of those moral faculties to render them able to appreciate these qualities in others, thereby qualifying them to imitate the characteristics of those possessing these noble gifts, when the truth was, the moral faculties had fallen into a condition of bondage to the animal faculties of the mind. After this fall of that part of their mental nature, that part, too, which was designed by organization to be in supreme control over the rest of the mind,—those faculties common to animals became elevated to phrenic supremacy; the organic constitution of mind in them was then reversed, the human form became inhuman in character, the feelings of kindness were exchanged for those of pitilessness, virtue for vice.

This permutation of the primitive mental powers of the higher orders must have preceded the exhibition of their depravity; and their conduct at the time of the arraignment of the generals is conclusive evidence of the fall hereinbefore mentioned. Of course no

feelings of compassion could have influenced them in the least, as they struggled with their utmost might to forever close the gates of a legal trial to the heroes of the Arginusæ. Sentence of death was immediately passed upon the six, contrary to all law, and these unfortunate men were led away to execution.<sup>82</sup>

The higher orders crushed every effort of the people to bring the war to a conclusion. They involved the state for their own official popularity and pecuniary gain. The masses looked to them as trusty counselors in times of danger and difficulty; they had been elevated by the ballots of the nation to positions of profit, of honor; and this was requited with the destruction of the national polity, and the designed subjection of the people to the behests of foreign enemies. Although the true character of this class discovered itself to the most ignorant, its appearance was too late, for the ruin of the people was as complete as their deception.<sup>83</sup>

Thus far we have discovered, that the cultivation

<sup>82</sup> "The sentence of death was pronounced, and the generals were handed over to the eleven for execution. Thus died the son of Pericles and Aspasia, to whom his father had made a fatal gift in obtaining for him the Attic citizenship, and with him died Erasinides, Thrasyllus, Lysias, Aristocrates and Diomedon."—CURTIUS' HISTORY OF GREECE, vol. 3, page 545.

<sup>83</sup> "Of what avail was it, that the meaning of the villainous game played by the oligarchs had now become manifest; that the public indignation at the discovery found vent in the arrest of Callixines and of four others, who were to be subjected to a capital trial? The oligarchs were, after all, able to protect their partizans, and Theramenes escaped without farther hurt; though he failed in his candidature for one of the vacant offices of general. The oligarchic party continued to prevail in the council. The citizens knew not in

of the intellectual powers has no effect to improve the moral faculties of the mind, but, on the other hand, we have seen that, in proportion as the Greeks became educated, they became correspondingly depraved. That there cannot be a moral education without a special culture of the primitive moral powers; and that this cannot be wrought by a discipline of either the intellectual or the religious, is, by the concurrent testimony of all history, positively established.

There was a depth of corruption in the educated of Athens, and, in fact, of all the higher classes of the Hellenic states, that, in our review of their deeds, we have not reached. Most all the states possessed classes of men whose turpitude was in exact proportion to their education. We did not design to travel outside of Attica for our purposes of proof, for it is enough to mention that they all had their Lysanders, who, if they did not murder whole armies,<sup>84</sup>

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whom to place trust. They felt no confidence in their demagogues, Cleophon, Archedemus, and the rest, and as little in the men of the opposite party, whose villainy had become palpable. The latter were hated and the former despised; and yet the civic body fell alternately into the hands of either."—CURTIUS' HISTORY OF GREECE, vol. 3, page 554.

<sup>84</sup> "All the other vessels fell into the hands of Lysander, together with three thousand men; the rest had effected their escape to Setus. The great body of the prisoners was transported to Lampsacus, and there tried by court martial, to which Lysander summoned those of the allies who were present. He thus obtained an opportunity of allowing all the hatred which existed against the Athenians among the Ionians, Boeotians, Megareans, etc., to find full vent once more; and being able to pretend that he was accomplishing the work of vengeance upon Athens in the name and by the orders of the Hellenic nation. The Spartans loved to envelop their most cruel

committed crimes equally inhuman and cruel. Greece had no contemporary nation which possessed a more educated class, or a greater number of educated men. Among them all, none, perhaps, combined greater intellectual culture with such tremendous depravity, as did this favored and at the same time unfortunate nation. The student of history is constantly astonished, as he contemplates the vices and rottenness into which the higher orders had fallen. No term in the English vernacular is commensurate with its extent. It is a hopeless undertaking to endeavor to reach the bottom of the "bottomless."

After the battle of Egospotami, in which the Athenian forces were defeated, their affairs were in a more desperate condition than ever, and were deserted by all their allies, except two small democratic states, the inhabitants of which the higher orders were neither able to rule nor to corrupt. Let it be ever remembered to their immortal honor, that the people of the island of Samos, and the little state of Argos, both democratic in their constitutions, adhered to the

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deeds in empty forms of legality. Thus, as formerly in the case of the Plataeans, they now complacently listened to the most unmeasured accusations against the defenseless Athenians, and sentenced them all to death. Admantus was the single person whose life was granted him, in return for the services which he had performed for the foe. But the proceeding which, among all the horrors perpetrated at that time on the shores of the Hellespont, most violently affected the feelings of the Greeks, was Lysander's refusal of even a decent burial to the corpses of his victims."—CURTIUS' HISTORY OF GREECE, vol. 3, page 553



cause of Attica, and shared her joys and sorrows to the last. But while the uncorrupted inhabitants of these uncultivated states were true to their oaths, how was it with the intelligent citizens of Athens—those of education, of position, and of wealth? Born to all the advantages resulting from riches and education, they possessed the ability to perform great services to the state of which they were members. From him who has talents and wealth, much is expected, as he is possessed of opportunities which he cannot, by any principle of equity, claim as exclusively belonging to himself.

As Agis and Pausanias surrounded the city on land, thereby shutting off all communications in this direction, and Lysander with his fleet of two hundred ships prevented all ingress from the sea, the prices of breadstuffs rose to such a height that they were entirely beyond the means of the poorer people. As starvation presented its horrid features, the prospects of it to the city created great excitement and confusion in the minds of the inhabitants, for they knew that, by a long siege, they would be finally brought to it. The war was no longer carried on abroad, nor in adjoining states, but had gradually narrowed down its limits till the capital of the republic was surrounded on every side by the imposing armies of the foe, which threatened a deplorable death to the inhabitants of the city,



or its conquest by assault upon its fortifications. The people had lost all confidence in the higher classes, and could not rely upon the ability of those who had not been favored with advantages peculiar to the oligarchs of Athens. Alcibiades, who, had they flattered his vanity, might possibly have dispersed the enemy, although the democratic constitution, in all probability, would have fallen beneath the encroachments of his unprincipled ambition. But whatever he might have been able to accomplish for the good of the state, the jealousy of the higher orders had deposed him from power, and, therefore, the people could not, at this juncture, avail themselves of his experience and great ability.

The Athenians had more to fear from the oligarchical party within the city, than their enemies which surrounded it from without. The oligarchs had, as we have seen, long prior to the siege, entered into secret and traitorous negotiations with the Spartans for the overthrow of the constitution, and the establishment of despotic government upon its ruins. This they were endeavoring to accomplish, while they pretended to maintain a firm disposition to support the democratic constitution of the state. They now came forward again, as they had before in every hour of trouble, to distract the public mind and thereby destroy every effort on the part of the people to preserve the

independence of the republic, and those elements of freedom which had existed from the fall of the last of the Pisistratidæ.<sup>85</sup> While the higher orders thus represented themselves as loyal to equitable laws, they were in secret communication with the enemy for the subversion of freedom, not only of Athens, but of all the Greek states into which they could carry their influence.<sup>86</sup>

When, during the forepart of the siege of the city, the state of Sparta proffered terms of peace to Attica, with several provinces and her constitution intact, the higher orders caused a rejection of this proposition, and threatened violence to the person of him, who should say or do anything in favor of its ratification.<sup>87</sup>

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85 "But the ancient evil also reappeared, the source of which consisted in the existence of a small but united number of citizens, who worked against the honor and independence of the city, and in favor of the foe, whom they needed, in order to establish the sway of their party on the ruins of the democracy. This party, always firmly organized in itself, was ever at hand, to take advantage of every national trouble for its own purposes. As soon as a storm lowered over the city and spread terror in it, this party came forward as a real power. At the present moment, Athens was terrified by the tremendous events which had recently taken place, and was not only weakened as to her means of defense by her great loss of citizens, but also thoroughly shaken in her bearing toward her foes both within and without. The large influx of strangers disturbed and confused the conduct of affairs, while terror was excited by the imminent siege."—CURTIUS' HISTORY OF GREECE, vol. 3, p. 562.

86 In speaking of the manner the educated attempted to destroy all systems of democracy in connection with the aristocrats of Lacedæmon, Curtius says: "And yet, even now, the oligarchs found Athens less easy to deal with than the other places, where, with the aid of Lysander, the democracy was rapidly abolished."—HISTORY OF GREECE, vol. 3 page 562.

87 "Although, then, the Spartan authorities held out the prospects of the maintenance of the Attic constitution, and even of the continued possession of Lemnos, Imbros and Scyros to the Athenians, the latter rejected all

Cleophon, one of the oligarchs and an orator of considerable reputation, backed by the noble families of the city, intimidated the populace so that none dare act in the premises.<sup>88</sup> The Athenians did not expect such favorable terms, but, on the contrary, had reason to believe they would be sold into slavery according to the existing rules of war. But the lower classes of Sparta, having at this time a good control over their nobles, did not desire to reduce the Athenians to a condition of slavery to the inhabitants of any centralized government,<sup>89</sup> fearing, perhaps, that the same elements would eventually subject themselves to a like state. But while the majority of the Spartans were desirous of preserving to the Athenians their freedom, the higher orders of the former were in secret negotiation with the same class of the latter, for the complete abolishment of all popular governments.

When the oligarchs foresaw that the greater part of the Athenians would be starved into the conditions of the peace proposed by the Spartans, the former had

proposals, including a demand for razing the walls; and a civic decree was even passed, which made all discussion of this point penal."—CURTIUS' HISTORY OF GREECE, vol. 3, page 567.

88 "Sure of the assent of a large number of honorable citizens on this point, Cleophon was able to menace any one with open violence who should say a word in its favor."—IBID., vol. 3, page 567.

89 "The Lacedæmonians, however, said they would not reduce to bondage a state which had done great good at the time of the greatest danger that had ever befallen Greece."—XENOPHON'S HELLENICS, lib. 2, ch. 2, 20.

recourse to another device which was in perfect relation to their past treacherous career. They represented to the masses that they could obtain more liberal terms by sending an embassy to those in authority at Sparta, or those who were in command of its forces.<sup>90</sup> On this occasion, the oligarchs took advantage of what little confidence the people had left in Theramenes,<sup>91</sup> which, although very small, was still possessed by him to a greater extent than any of the other nobles, because he had opposed the power of the four hundred. So many times had the people been deceived by the many solemn declarations of patriotism, and their love of the ancient virtue of the people on the part of the oligarchical party, and this being followed by their attempts to overturn a government peculiarly adapted to cultivate these virtues, extend equal rights and prosperity to all, had occasioned a complete loss of confidence in their honesty; and the murders which they had committed to establish their power, had so fully unveiled their purposes that the most stupid could no longer be deceived. There is, however, in the human mind, an element known as hope, which

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<sup>90</sup> "Theramenes undertook to obtain far more favorable terms than this, and even held out the prospect of a variety of advantages to be secured by means of a skillful negotiation with Sparta; but at the same time asked unconditional confidence and absolute powers."—CURTIUS' HISTORY OF GREECE, vol. 3, page 568.

<sup>91</sup> "In vain the people urged their objections; they guessed his traitorous intentions, and warned the assembly against entrusting their all to the hands of a Theramenes."—*IBID.*



frequently gives us a belief, or a desire to believe, in those in whom, reason teaches, no confidence can be placed with any prospect of its being treated in good faith. With a perfect understanding of the existence of this element, these adroit knaves undertook to balance themselves upon it, and those surrounding circumstances which, as we have seen, were of the most distressful nature.

By the extension of that time which the embassy would necessarily require, they could, under the existing condition of the people and the oligarchical intrigues with Spartan nobles, accomplish the demolition of all republican equality in the state of Attica.<sup>92</sup> By the influence of Theramenes and the rest of the nobles, he and nine others were dispatched with full powers to effect a treaty of peace. The embassy departed on its mission, did nothing, remained away four months, while the people were starving in great numbers.<sup>93</sup> But instead of obtaining more favorable terms for the cessation of hostility,

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<sup>92</sup> "It was, therefore, of double importance for such men as Theramenes to arrive at an understanding with Lysander, and to ensure themselves of his support. The other object achieved by the conspirators through their embassy was this: that in the meantime no public assemblies were held at Athens on the question of peace, and that thus the loyal adherents of the constitution were effectually prevented from taking any measures on its behalf."—CURTIUS' *HISTORY OF GREECE*, vol. 3, page 569.

<sup>93</sup> "On their entering the city [at their return] a great multitude poured round them, afraid of their having returned unsuccessful for it was no longer possible to delay, owing to the great numbers who were dying of famine."—XENOPHON'S *HELLENICS*, lib. 2, ch. 2, 21.



they got less, and Athens was finally stripped of every province of which she was possessed, besides being obliged to pull down the wall, which, as a defense to the city, she most dreaded to do.<sup>94</sup> This curtailment of Attic domination and the number of her inhabitants was, without doubt, the desire of the conspirators, as they could more easily subject a small people than a great nation. The people, to escape death, consented to their dire demands, and thereupon peace ensued. Thus did Attica become subjected to the power of Lacedæmon, not through her own weakness, but through the traitorous conduct of the educated.

After the fall of Attic independence, and her incorporation with the Peloponnesian confederacy, it was doubtless designed by the commonalty of Sparta to leave the domestic government, or the legislative enactments, to the people, not interfering with its local constitutional provisions further than limit its military strength and make it tributary to Spartan power. But the higher orders of Lacedæmon had pursued a policy of their own with the oligarchs of Athens, which was perfectly consistent with the moral characters of both. Spartan authorities granted

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<sup>94</sup> "The Athenians were to pull down the walls of the harbor and the lines connecting the latter with the city; their dominion was to be limited to Attica; they were to readmit all exiles, to join the Peloponnesian confederacy."—CURTIUS' HISTORY OF GREECE, vol. 3, page 571; also HELLENICS, lib. 2, ch. 2, 20.

a guard, which they induced their own people to believe was necessary to remain in Athens till international animosity and bitter hostility to the conquest had subsided in the masses. This is what the conspirators desired, and it was that for which the whole educated classes had long been in secret negotiations with the enemy. They needed the strong military arm of Sparta to crush the freedom of the people, and establish their aristocratic principles upon the remains of fallen equality. They had already taken the preliminary step, *i. e.*, had extinguished the independence of the state. With a well armed and disciplined guard, the oligarchs felt positive of subduing all opposition to their schemes to debar the inhabitants from all participation in the sovereignty of the state, and secure to themselves the positions of despots, and those revenues of the nation which were not required to be paid into the treasuries of the confederation.

The great disregard of the laws by the learned, at times, their necessary suspension, frequent violations, the forced enactments of half legalized measures, misconstructions, maladministration, the new relations which Attica bore to Lacedæmon, all this chaotic condition of the civil government of Athens, rendered it necessary to revise the laws. For this purpose thirty of the most educated of the city were elected to draft new laws in partial conformity to old but familiar statutes.

How far the nobles of Sparta had a hand in this selection it is not very easy to determine ; but is worthy of observation that the Lacedæmonian forces did not leave the city till the Athenians had made this selection.<sup>95</sup> They were elected for the purpose of a recodification of those laws which were the acts of their forefathers, and from which, the people had noticed, prosperity had formerly extended itself to all.<sup>96</sup> But in place of proceeding to meet the requirements of the people, they intentionally put off the question, and, leaving the state in an anarchical condition, proceeded to establish a government of their own.<sup>97</sup> They, then first of all, commenced to dispose of those, who, they thought, would be disaffected to their heinous designs.<sup>98</sup> The nobles put them to death upon false accusations,<sup>99</sup> of conspiring against the constitution,

95 In speaking of this election, Xenophon says : "When this had been done, Lysander sailed away to Samos; and Agis withdrew the land forces from Decelea, and dismissed them to their several cities."—HELLENICS, lib. 2, ch. 3, 3.

96 "It was resolved by the people to elect thirty men, who should draw up a code of laws from those inherited from their fathers, by which they should regulate their affairs."—IBID.

97 "But though elected for the purpose of drawing up a code of laws by which they should regulate their affairs, they continually deferred drawing up and promulgating those laws, but appointed the officers according to their own pleasure."—IBID., lib. 2, ch. 3, 11.

98 It is from Curtius that we borrow these facts, that the oligarchs "recognized the necessity of seizing the persons of the leaders of the adverse movement, before they could proceed finally to regulate the constitution according to their own wishes."—HISTORY OF GREECE, vol. 3, page 573.

99 "Agaratus appears to have been forced to bring a statement before the council, in which he accused a number of honorable men of conspiring

when none was recognized as being in existence, as there was a usurpation of the rights of the people at the time, by the same men, with one or two exceptions, that were now in power. They sent to execution these men because they supposed in them the tyranny would meet with opposition. It was the oligarchs that caused this wholesale execution and not the people.<sup>100</sup>

After the execution of those who, as they supposed by their general candor and attitude, would oppose the reduction of the republic to the principles of absolutism, the nobles began to convict and execute their own colleagues, so that the latter might not, by ability and ambition, stand in the way of their own advancement to centralized power.<sup>101</sup> They did not confine themselves in their murders to their own ambitious class, nor to those who offered opposition to their schemes, but proceeded to put out of the way, in great

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against the constitution, although manifestly no constitution was at the time acknowledged, and only a party government was carried on by arbitrary means for selfish ends."—CURTIUS' HISTORY OF GREECE, vol. 3, page 573.

100 To still deceive the people and make them believe there was some form of popular government intact at Athens, "the council brought the matter" [accusation] "before the citizens: an assembly was held in the Piræus, in the Munychian theatre, in which, under the influence of the oligarchs, sentence of death was pronounced on the accused."—*IBID.*

101 "And when he" [Calibius] "sent with them soldiers of the guard, they" [oligarchs] "arrested whom they pleased; no longer those only who were ill-disposed and little worth, but now such as they thought to bear least patiently being thrust aside, and who, if they should attempt any measure against them, would find the most numerous supporters."—HELLENICS, lib. 2, ch. 3, 14.

numbers, the best and most harmless men, who did not meddle with politics in the least, although the latter knew their liberties were being subverted by the nobles.<sup>102</sup> They gave full vent to their feelings of hatred, put many to death through revenge, and many for the possession of their property.<sup>103</sup> Being short of funds to pay their hired assassins, they murdered resident foreigners, and confiscated the latter's estates to supply the deficiency.<sup>104</sup> The higher orders had not the honesty common to rogues, as, after they had armed the three thousand citizens, they applied the cup of poison to the lips of each other. Theramenes, who had as much to do in the establishment of the tyranny as any one of the rest, as wholly destitute of moral principle, caring nothing for the people nor for their rights, attempted to combine the whole people of Athens against the thirty, and thereby cut them all off at one blow, that the way might be clear for

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<sup>102</sup> "But afterward he" [Critias] "was headlong in putting many to death, (inasmuch as he had himself been banished by the people,) while Theramenes was opposed to it; alleging that it was not right to put to death any one who, though honored by the people, did the better kind of men no harm."—HELLENICS, lib. 2, ch. 3, 14.

<sup>103</sup> "When this was done," [arming the three thousand and the disarming of the multitude,] "thinking that they might act as they pleased, they put to death many others for the gratification of their hatred, and many others for the sake of their property."—IBID., lib. 2, ch. 3, 21.

<sup>104</sup> "And in order that they might have money to give to the guards, they determined to choose one each of the resident aliens, and, having put them to death, to confiscate their property."—IBID., lib. 2, ch. 3, 21.



his own ambitious purposes.<sup>105</sup> But his vaulting ambition overreached itself; he fell a victim to the snares which he had laid for the whole of the oligarchy, and died of poison which he was preparing for them.<sup>106</sup> After the death of Theramenes the thirty had no opposition, and by their great number of executions filled the land with mourning and the whole population with affright. Backed by the three thousand, the tyrants issued an order to all of those who resided in the state of Attica, who were possessed of property, to remain on their estates, and then began to arrest and to convict them, by a spurious trial for pretended offenses, executing all who did not flee the country. Besides those whom the tyrants executed, the refugees, fleeing from their despotism, filled the lands of Megara and Thebes. So that the designs of the educated were to destroy all the property holders, is perfectly evident from the order which they issued, and the frightful number of murders which they committed against the inhabitants. It is also equally true,

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<sup>105</sup> Theramenes represented the aristocratic element to the Spartan government, and was the agency through which issued the disastrous peace, and in consequence thereof, Athens' fall. He played a double game in the interests of the tyrants against the people, while he pretended to be solicitous for their good. He caused (in the council) the arming of the three thousand, and then attempted to array the whole state against the thirty. See his speech in connection with that of Critias, *HELLENICS*, lib. 2, ch. 3.

<sup>106</sup> That Theramenes, at the time of his arrest, was preparing to excite the populace to madness against the tyrants and thus destroy them, seems to be evident from his connection with the events which followed the arrival of the guards in Athens, *IBID.*, lib. 2, ch. 3.

that the number which filled the states above mentioned is evidence that no crimes had been committed by them, that by their conviction and the confiscation of their estates the tyrants would become possessed of great wealth, while the people would be deprived of all means of defense against the pretensions of the oligarchs to absolute power.<sup>107</sup>

What must be thought of the moral character of those who carried into execution such horrible plans as the excision of a large part of the inhabitants of a nation. If the reader be disposed to believe that such an enormous crime is impossible, beyond human conception, because it would be at any time inexpedient, he is compelled to confess its truth from the fact that the returning refugees, in a body, were of such vast numbers as to be able to defeat the three thousand in conjunction with the Lacedæmonian forces which were sent against them.<sup>108</sup> These exiles then drove the tyrants from all authority which they had exercised over the state, executed and banished them from the

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<sup>107</sup> "The thirty thinking they might now" [after the death of Theramenes] "play the tyrant without fear, published an order to all who were not in the list" [of the three thousand], "not to come into the city; while they brought them to trial from their estates, that themselves and their friends might take possession of their lands. And when they took refuge in the Piræus, they arrested them there likewise, and filled Megara and Thebes with fugitives."—HELLENICS, lib. 2, ch. 4, 2.

<sup>108</sup> See XENOPHON'S HELLENICS, lib. 2, ch. 4, in which he describes the defeat of the tyrants and Lacedæmonians.

country.<sup>100</sup> Their executions were so vastly great, they exceeded those of the Jacobins of the French revolution; they killed "almost more" in the eight months of their power than all the Athenians which fell in any ten years of the Peloponnesian war, and this, too, not for the welfare of the nation, but for their own interest.<sup>110</sup> That the corruption was not confined to the thirty alone, is evident from the assistance of the three thousand, which supported every measure, carrying into effect the most cruel robberies and murders, planned by the thirty. And after the thirty had fallen and been driven from the state, when the government of a despotism had become impossible in Attica, the learned continued their murders, and killed a party of *Æxonians* while in pursuit of provisions to sustain nature.<sup>111</sup> The character of the higher classes was so debased as to be a common by-word among the masses, and the latter firmly believed that the former did not possess one single virtue; and the lower orders so represented it to the higher classes, but through a

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<sup>100</sup> See *HELLENICS*, lib. 2, ch. 4, 23.

<sup>110</sup> Cleocritus, in his address to the Athenians, stated these facts to the tyrants themselves, who did not deny them: "And be not persuaded by these impious thirty, who, for the sake of their own gain, have killed almost more of the Athenians in eight months, than all the Peloponnesians in ten years' warfare."—*IBID.*, lib. 2, ch. 4, 21.

<sup>111</sup> "They" [armed force of the oligarchy] "also fell in with a party of *Æxonians* going to their own estates for provisions; whom Lysimachus, the commander of the horse, butchered, though they begged hard for their lives, and though many of the cavalry were indignant at his conduct."—*IBID.*, 26.

conscious conviction of its truth, the tyrants did not offer any excuses in palliation of their black deeds.<sup>112</sup> At the time that Thrasybulus was put forward by the multitude to address the oligarchs, danger to any one was over, all were disarmed, and all turbulent elements becalmed.<sup>113</sup> Protection under the laws was extended to all, and every citizen, not included in the thirty, was, by the manner in which peace was consummated, exhorted to forget,<sup>114</sup> if it were possible, and at all events to forgive.<sup>115</sup> As there was, therefore, nothing to restrain them in a full reply by way of defense, they certainly would have availed themselves of the opportunity and presented it, was there anything they could say in justification.

<sup>112</sup> When Thrasybulus delivered to the three thousand his opinion, he made this declaration to them, after the thirty were driven into exile by returned fugitives: "To you, gentlemen of the city, I give this advice, to know yourselves. And you would best gain that knowledge by considering upon what grounds you ought to be so lifted up as to attempt to rule over us. Are you more honest men? Nay, but the people, though poorer than you, never yet wronged you for the sake of money; whereas you, though richer than all of us, have done many base deeds for gain. But since you have no claims to honesty, see whether, then, it is on your courage that you should pride yourselves. And what better test of this could there be, than the manner in which we have carried on war against each other." The supporters of the thirty tyrants now had an opportunity of expressing their opinion without fear.—XENOPHON'S *HELLENICS*, lib. 2, ch. 2, 40 and 41.

<sup>113</sup> *IBID.*, lib. 2, ch. 4, 39.

<sup>114</sup> "And having sworn not to remember past grievances, they still live together under the same government, and the popular party abide by their oaths."—*IBID.*, lib. 2, ch. 4, 43.

<sup>115</sup> At the conclusion of the speech of Thrasybulus, he told the despots "that they should create no confusion, but live according to their ancient laws."—*IBID.*, lib. 2, ch. 4, 42.

Such was the moral character of the educated men of Greece just prior to its decline, and during its fall. We have seen that philosophy began with Thales, from 700 to 600 B. C., and that philosophy continued to absorb the attention of the Greek mind down to the middle of the Peloponnesian war, whereat all originality ended with Socrates. From this time forward, philosophy became rather a matter of learning, than a study and abstract reflection. The learned of Greece, at the beginning of their education, studied the languages, the sciences as far as they were then developed, poetry, music, and traveled for a knowledge of geography and the character of foreign nations, in distant lands. No particular system of instruction was adopted and followed, but all of those that we have mentioned were pursued by the Athenians, and afforded the means by which a preliminary education was arrived at.<sup>116</sup> But none assumed to be educated, who had not, at some period of his life, followed daily instruction under some distinguished speculative thinker. Philosophy was to them the finishing up of their education, and while, by the contemplation of their boyhood studies, the mind was in a condition of passive receptivity, under that of philosophy it was changed into a state of critical activity.

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<sup>116</sup> This author does not consider learning to be education, but that the latter to consist in a discipline of the mental powers.



After the founding of the Ionic philosophy, Attica produced many highly educated minds, whose insinuating subtilty and prodigious weight are still the admiration of all mankind. But at the end of their long war, when philosophic education was extinguished by the execution or banishment of its votaries, and those who had received their instruction from its able masters, had expired, Attica, and, in fact, all Greece, brought forward few minds worthy of the fame extended to them by historic records. So that the period for a thorough discipline of the intellectual faculties of the mind must necessarily be placed between the birth of the Ionic school of thought, and the death of Socrates. No nation existed in ancient times possessing such close and extended culture, and, at the same time, united to such extreme wickedness and cruelty, as did Greece, and especially the Attic portion of it, during the period above mentioned. Depravity increased with culture, the former being, at first, apparently something akin to an effect of the latter, and then changing to a cause which finally blotted out the latter with itself. While the uneducated were moral, the cultivated were steeped in iniquity, and committed all grades of crime.

We do not claim that the education of the intellectual faculties produces a degeneration of the moral, but that by the manner it has been pursued, the system

has had a tendency to contribute to this effect. That this defective system has had this detrimental action upon the character of man, history bestows the best of evidence for convincing, and it continues to work the same ruinous results now that it did in the days of antiquity. As it was with Greece, so has it been in all subsequent ages, clinging with the pertinacity of death to the vital happiness of mankind, till societies and nations have met with disastrous and melancholy terminations.

Greece was selected by us, because its history is more complete, and better known by scholars, than any other nation of the ancient world, and being the birth-place of intellectual life, it presented a better example of the disproof of an antiquated and stupid belief. It has been a frequent remark of educators in this country, and in all others, that the educated Greeks, before Christ, possessed less education than a school-boy now-a-days does at the age of fifteen years. That this is wholly false, any one at all acquainted with the history of Greece must know. Nor had they reached the summit of all human wisdom, as was supposed by the sacerdotaly of the middle ages. But some of the philosophic schools of Greece have furnished the sources from which many of the most eminent modern thinkers have borrowed their doctrines. Leibnitz drew the substance of his Nomadic

philosophy from a combination of the Atomistic and Heraclitic schools of this ancient people; and Bishop Berkeley borrowed from the subtilties of the Pyrrhonic philosophy his negation of the material world. These ancient philosophies furnished the dialectics for the scholastic metaphysicians of the medieval ages. Aristotle's system, although an eclectic, and not an original, one, is now studied at many universities of learning, both in Europe and America. One would naturally suppose that the writings of Thucydides and many others of equal worth, is sufficient evidence, without further examination, that the culture of this nation was no very mean one. Nevertheless it was confined to the richer people of the republic, while the poorer had to be content with barely enough learning to read and write, but having little intellectual discipline.

The higher families of Greece and Carthage were somewhat similar in the discipline of their intellectual powers, and we find, by an investigation into their conduct, that the same conclusion must be drawn from their moral character. Yet there was no parallel between the lower classes of the two.<sup>117</sup> The lower orders of Carthage were traders and traffickers, whatever might be the individual capital invested, and

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<sup>117</sup> In discussing the mental qualities of the people of a nation, or of a class of any particular nation, we intend by it, that a majority gives character to that nation, or to that class, of which we at any time have made investigation.

dealt with the like profession of every portion of the mercantile world, both civilized and savage. The native Carthaginians, or those descended from the founders of the republic, as has been observed, were a nation of merchants, who worshiped mammon and made the ostentatious display of riches an evidence of their social and political consequence. In their many cities which in time sprang up along the northern boundary of Africa, they traded with every nation located on the Mediterranean by marine; and the tropical productions of central Asia and Africa were brought by immense caravans to this great metropolis. Slavery of races, as well as of condition, existed as an institution of the government, and, by its sanction, human beings were bought and sold in the country as much as any lifeless article. The commonalty of Carthage, by their multifarious mercantile transactions, were in continual association with most all races which were then known to the world, and that too with unprincipled sharpers, who cared little as to the means employed, if it wrought the desired result. The moral feelings of the multitude were blunted by this continual contact with these heterogenous elements of corruption of the different races of mankind, whose vices were appropriated by the masses, made a part of their being, and thereafter became, if it were possible, a "second nature," which ruled over their

mental constitution and directed them in all their purposes of life. The agriculturists were by far in the minority, and those who constituted this minority were generally large landholders, who had become rich either by inheritance or by commercial trade, after the first one hundred and fifty years from the establishment of its political body. But the whole people of this republic, rich and poor, apparently had but perverted objects as an end of life; one was the accumulation of riches to satiate sensual desires. Most all races daily met to exchange commodities in the streets of the cities, and there intermingled for the advantages of commercial speculation; so that the vices and the tricks of rascality of all nations, from the civilized states of Greece and of Rome to the less cultivated Bedouins of Arabia and north central Africa, were there represented. The wretched condition of their moral qualities found a readier exchange than any marketable goods which were presented for public barter; and for it no price was paid in anything of representative value, but it secretly and perfectly added its ingredient cause of Carthage's fall, and was in the end the purchase price of her independence, her freedom, and the lives of her people.

It was by this extensive trade that the commonalty of Carthage became, in a manner, intelligent, for by it



they were introduced into a knowledge of the habits of all mankind, and by their travels in foreign lands learned considerable of geography, of history, and of the social life of distant tribes and nations. Although this works no thorough discipline to the intellectual, it nevertheless did, in the age of this republic, acquaint its people with a great variety of different objects, and by it became more perfectly learned in those things which came within their range, than they could have obtained from books. Thereunder they probably became the most intelligent people in the world. The poorer classes of Greece, on the other hand, had no communication with the outside world, but were compelled to till the hard and sterile soil, or expend their vital energies, day after day, on the public works. By this non-intercommunication of the inferior people of Greece with the inhabitants of foreign states, there was no abnormal action, no wander of thought aping the corrupt manners of the latter, but it was turned to its natural channel, the enjoyments of domestic life. It will be readily seen that there would be, under its normal action, a limited activity, the excesses of all the faculties being curtailed by the affections of the more humane feelings, which, by constant refinement, were kept in the most active condition. Political ambition, morbid desire for superfluous wealth, and all the sensual appetites, were

effectually checked by the influence of the family fireside; the love of parents, of children, of relative consanguinity, of country, were in this manner preserved in the masses to protect the people and the entire nation against the barbarous principles of the educated of native and of foreign states.

The freedom of the Hellenic states did not begin to decline until the intellectual education of the higher families was firmly established under the tuition of philosophy. But, as has been observed, as rapidly as they became mentally disciplined, they were ruined in morals. Notwithstanding the wrecked morality of the higher, the lower were greatly in the majority, preserving the supremacy of the moral sentiments; and it was not till one hundred years of gradual degeneration of the nobles, that the latter, in conjunction with the demagogues of foreign powers, were enabled to extinguish the principles of autonomy. The twenty-seven and a half years which the war lasted, indicates the tenacity of the natural laws with which the inferior classes were supported against the aggressions of their own aristocracy and the neighboring portions of the civilized world.

War is the most dangerous calamity that can befall a nation, for however victorious in arms it may be over an enemy, there is a constant submission of the noble to the ignoble, a conquest of the moral by the animal

faculties of the mind. A nation is not necessarily fallen because it is subdued; its conquest is only an apparent evidence of its fallen state. But a political organization is in declension whenever the morals of the people are in process of destruction; the loss of its independence, and especially that of its freedom, follows the overthrow of the superior sentiments of the mind in the majority of its members. Intellectual culture had not reached and caused a degeneration of the morals of the majority of the Greeks, they had been shielded from the blighting of this system of education. It required something farther to reach their case and remove their mentality from all normal conditions. The blasting influences of war were necessary, and war they had, foreign, civil and fratricidal, for the length of a generation. Men were born after its commencement, grew to manhood, and died in arms. This atrocious system was adopted and pursued by the higher orders of Attica, to terminate its independence and subvert its freedom, but when Athens fell all Greece declined with her; the sun of all their hopes was clouded, and their moral faculties subverted, all rational government thereunder being in effectual destruction. War is rather a conflict upon the mental than upon the physical, and the Peloponnesian wrought the complete ruin of Greece; and although for a time under the guiding hand of an

Alexander, she was enabled to prevail over the degenerate sons of ancient patriarchs in Asia, it was rather natural than marvelous; it was the triumph of the animal faculties in one nation over the dementia and effeminacy of others. It was a conquest of slaves by slaves.

It has been set forth in this work that man is possessed of certain faculties in his mental economy which, by their character, are placed in subordination, and made servitors, to the moral sentiments of the mind. We have also seen that the intellectual faculties have no feelings, and, like the animal, are, as it were, instruments of the ethical part of man's mental being. Man's propensities<sup>118</sup> being in constant activity by the daily business of life, are steadily undergoing discipline, while the ratiocinating portion of the intellectual is little cultivated, for in business transaction individuals rely more upon perception than upon reason. But those faculties which take cognizance of cause and effect, of moral and of religious principles, must be, for a lengthened period, caused to act upon some object belonging to the peculiar province of each, in order to produce an education of them. In the higher orders of Greece, the first and the last were stimulated to operate upon

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<sup>118</sup> The word "propensities" in this work is used as synonymous with the animal faculties.



legitimate objects, the first by the direct and close study of philosophy, the last by early devotion to religion. But down to the time of the Socratic from the Pythagorean, the greater development of the reasoning powers pretty much extinguished the fundamental religious elements from the minds of philosophic students.

There was no system of rigid moral instruction, and, from reasons heretofore mentioned, the moral faculties, by long disuse, gradually decreased from their former strength, and, as far as their influence to control individual conduct, they were so far destroyed as to give little evidence of their former existence, and, were it not for equitable laws then still in being, one would naturally suppose, by the acts of the nobles, that they were deprived from the first of all functions in this direction. As the intellect is not possessed of feelings, and as it is, by its very nature, in subordination to the moral faculties; and whereas, when the animal powers became stimulated to great activity by daily culture, the strong passions of which they are possessed, elevated them to a condition of supremacy, and by it completely ruled over the human mind, carrying their own feelings into characteristic effect. So with that class in Hellenic history which is usually termed the noble, the moral faculties sank into a subordinate position to the animal. When such had



become the elements that were to rule over Attica, they became destructive of all existences, not excepting their own. As the higher families principally directed the concerns of the nation, the people, under the action of the animal powers, were helplessly driven into the Peloponnesian difficulty, which finally undermined all influence of the moral sentiments in the masses, not for a time only, but for *all* time, to the existing generation. It was the fall of the moral faculties that occasioned the overthrow of the institutions of Greece; for the power of all equitable governments is referable only to the moral faculties in the mind of a majority of its members. The failure of the moral faculties was followed by a failure of all moral effects, and no political constitution can long exist in absence of its cause.

The moral faculties were the power of the free institutions of Greece, and it cannot be truthfully alleged that Grecian freedom fell at the extinction of its political body, for the latter was, at the time the old Attic government was demolished, evidence only of the former existence of the primitive organs of morality. All equitable laws, all just organizations, are effects of these last faculties, and when their acts are swept away by the foolhardiness of mankind, it is only a disposition of what remains of their handiwork, a destruction of those monuments

which testify of the glory of their former power. The fall of the moral faculties preceded that of the form of government. So it has been with all republics which have ceased to exist from that time to this, and will continue to be the case with them in all future time. Political institutions may exist for a time after the overthrow of the power which erected them, but they are, by the laws of nature, compelled to follow the fate of their author.

By the system of education now prevalent, the moral primitive qualities, in the higher orders of the Hellenic states, first fell from all influence which they had exercised over the mind, and, by the depravity that was substituted in their stead, brought on the Peloponnesian war, by the corrupting tendencies of which they were enabled to extend the same lamentable condition to a large portion of the masses. It is but natural that no free and equitable government can depend upon a nation of criminals for a faithful execution of its provisions and support of its measures. The free and equitable institutions were forced to submit to whatever terms the propensities tended to impose; the freedom and the glory of the Greeks were sealed up and consigned to permanent extinction with the good features of Asiatic principalities which more vigorous contemporary powers had despoiled.

Such was the work of intellectual education for the

most flourishing people of antiquity. It is unreasonable to suppose that it will do better for the inhabitants of "The Great Republic." The system of Greek education was only an intellectual one; ours is the same. We have seen that this does not project a culture of the moral powers; it did with them, it cannot with us. However much intellectual education may be blended with religious, the combined tendencies of the two produce no beneficial action without both are under the special direction of the moral sentiments. If the moral are not cultivated with the religious and the intellectual, so as to raise them above even an equilibrium, there can be no supremacy of the moral sentiments. The injurious action of this defective system of education is somewhat proportioned to the degree of its extension.

In the United States of America, there are more colleges, properly so called, exclusively engaged in this education of the intellect, than in all the rest of the world. The seminaries, academies, and high schools are, comparatively, numberless.<sup>119</sup> The

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<sup>119</sup> In the single state of Ohio there were, in 1873, thirty colleges and universities, most of them having been long engaged in their labors. The first was organized in 1804, the last in 1873. There were also forty-one normal schools, academies and female colleges, making seventy-one institutions established to educate the intellect of the people of one single state. In addition to these, there were three hundred and fifty high schools engaged, of course to a more limited degree, in the same occupation.

See report of secretary of state to governor of Ohio, for 1873. Ohio Statistics, pages 411, 416 and 417.

facilities for education are, therefore, immense, generating a prodigious growth of the intellect, and enlarging the capacity of a large portion of the people for good or for evil. But we have seen that while it expands the intellectuality of mankind, it, at the same time, expunges the primitive causes of moral principles, and hence results in evil instead of good, disorganizing those moral elements of which republican governments must necessarily be composed. Education has not been, and is not at present, too extended, but too limited, limited to the religious and to the intellectual powers.

## CHAPTER IV

### GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

Brief Reflections on the Culture of the Primitive Faculties of the Mind—Assumptions of Theologians regarding the Tendencies of Religion to enhance the Moral Qualities of Mankind—Effect of those Assumptions indirectly Contributory to the Reign of the Propensities, and to the Diminishment of the Moral Sentiments, in the United States of America—More Pertinacity exhibited by Moderns on this question than by Ancients—Evidence of this Error shown by Religious and Moral Qualities of the Carthaginians—Necessities of direct, separate and systematic Culture of the Moral Sentiments to Prevent the Nation's Fall.

IN the creation of organs for particular functions, in organic matter, there was evident design, by Providence, that each and all of them should act and be exercised in a legitimate and proper manner. That every one should be in operation a portion of time, is as positive as any law with which man is acquainted. It must be apparent to all prudent observers, that those faculties of the mind, producing characteristics, must have an active existence or nearly none at all. Each and all can be preserved, cultivated, and thereby increased to a very great extent, or can, comparatively, be extinguished. And so perfectly have all of



these faculties been adjusted to each other, that no single one of them can be expunged without material injury to all. When all are well developed and in a healthy condition, there is a production of a certain balance, a certain harmony of life and action, which results in happiness and contentment to the mind, and even to the body, of its individual possessor. In the beginning of the world, those laws regulating the human mind were the same as now, and will be to all eternity. They are dynamical and not statical, and the faculties are constantly assuming the conditions of increase and diminution. Nothing remains, but everything, pertaining to mortal organism, is either in a process of growth or decomposition. Life or death, the one or the other, is in constant activity, not only in every being, but in every organ and faculty of all mankind. As it is a decree for man to die, so it is for every member which he possesses to undergo a similar fate. Portions of the human soul and body may partly perish, while the individual of whom they form a part may be in apparent health. But whenever any faculty is in a condition of atrophy, it is in one of death. We know that one may be in buoyant life and hope, while some one or more of his faculties are approaching, as far as relates to their influence upon character, the period of their excision. As any given muscle of the body may perish by disuse, so may

any faculty of the mind disappear under the same regulation of nature. And as the whole number of faculties exceed the individual members of mankind, so do the increase and decrease of the former outnumber those of the latter. The augmentation of a faculty may be termed life, and its decrement that of death. Every faculty, in a healthy state, increases in proportion to its exercise, providing that labor be not excessive, that is, too long and concentrated. And all of the faculties can be augmented or diminished by proper exercise or its corresponding neglect. There can, therefore, in every faculty, be a creation or an addition to the original amount, to a very considerable extent, by the application of the natural laws. Every one thereunder, therefore, becomes responsible, correspondingly, for his own character, and cannot cast this authority upon a certain fatality, or a great and first cause. He, himself, becomes the author of what he is, although not always what he should be.

The conclusions in the foregoing paragraph were drawn from those conditions which exist in a land of liberty. Heretofore philosophy, in most of its relations, has been addressed to the intellect only. It has been confined to the investigations of the intellectual powers, except now and then a thinker who turned his attention to the religious, with the view that from this arose the moral sentiments

of the world. This has produced and propagated the idea of the existence of a moral philosophy. Although there has been much written upon this subject, it has been so done, without any exception, by basing the whole structure on the supposition that the religious contains the moral, or upon the selfishness of utilitarianism. To us no more erroneous doctrine can be conceived. Morality and religion are essentially different in their nature, and therefore are effects of altogether different causes.

Great efforts have been made to improve the intellectual and religious powers of the mind, while nothing but the constant efforts of nature has been done to construct a system of moral science independent of religion, which was designed to improve the moral condition of the world. If Christ established any system which tended to regulate man to man and to Himself, it was so left that it has been, in practice, swallowed up by the religion with which it is taught and expounded. But the moral doctrines couched in divine revelation connect man mostly with his Maker. Yet the Saviour established no moral code by which, through rigid culture, the moral nature could be raised to a supremacy over the animal. The tendencies of His gospel subjected everything to the religious. But codes do little, if any, good. The Hebrews had the code of religious morals that was

given to them by Moses, yet they, according to their own account, were more guilty of evil practices and bad conduct than the heathen nations which surrounded them. If anything could have been done for the Jews under the religious faculties, by their cultivation, they should have presented an example of purity nowhere to be found among all mankind. Yet the reverse has been the effect; they have been so far demented in this part of the mind, that their conduct, their trickery and chicanery, in all portions of the globe in which they have dwelt, has caused them to be looked upon by mankind as a distinct class of petty criminals.

Egypt presents a similar example. She had thousands of priests and large quantities of religion with which to feed the minds of her people, yet she thought it no wrong to subject hundreds of thousands of human beings to a worse servitude than that of African slavery in America. The Hebrews had a foretaste of Egyptian bondage and its reality, after the death of Joseph; and Moses was accomplished in all the learning of the priesthood in this land of piety. It will not do to say that the religion of this ancient nation was pagan and not from God, and therefore had no beneficial effect upon the character of its inhabitants. If the religious code of the Egyptians was as true in its applications to the

religious faculties of the mind, and as extensive in amount as the Mosaic, if believed, as without doubt it was, it would have as great effect upon the character of its people, as it would had it come, as was pretended by its priesthood, directly from the hands of God. Yet no greater despotism ever existed than that of the Egyptian. All mankind in its limits were restrained and their liberty curtailed in the most humiliating manner. No contemporary people in ancient times, except the Israelites, had fallen to a lower status. This was characteristic alike of the highest and the lowest classes. The rulers of this people conducted themselves with such cruel tyranny toward their subjects, that the latter would not allow the former to be buried in the pyramids erected by the kings for that special purpose. So that few, if any of them, have been entombed in those celebrated monuments which have survived all the governments of antiquity.

If religion have the tendencies ascribed to it by theologians, Egypt ought to have been, for happiness, a land not inferior to Paradise. All the contrivances calculated to work upon the mind and make it devotional to, and dependent upon, an unseen power, were craftily introduced and as craftily promulgated. Every organic substance possessing automatic power was an object of worship. There was not an animal,



reptile nor insect which was not the embodiment of some spirit of the gods. The priests pretended to have received revelations from the gods containing religious and moral doctrines. They pretended, also, to have power from above to work miracles; this was firmly believed by the multitude, and vouched for by the author of the Pentateuch.

The Egyptians then had those advantages arising from a belief in special providences that the Christians now have. They did not profess one thing and believe another, but were really in earnest, zealously observing the religious commandments taught them by the most learned preceptors of their adopted faith. The priests, in this nation, were next in power to the crown, and, as a consequence, possessed an authority which gave them great influence over the minds of the inhabitants. Notwithstanding the long and close culture of the religious elements of the mind in this land of plenty, a desolation, more complete than that of Rome or of Greece, has swept over her; and were it not for the historians of contemporary nations who chronicled the learning and glory of this magnificent power, she would now be slumbering in oblivion. Her pyramids might still astonish the beholder, but could convey little information respecting the character and condition of the people by whom they were erected. From the beginning of the reign of Menes,

A. M., 1816, to the death of Cleopatra, a period of twenty-one hundred years, the Egyptians enjoyed a constant and uninterrupted culture of the religious faculties of the mind. If religion and morality are effects of the same mental faculties, this nation should have enjoyed a prosperity, under the moral laws, unparalleled by the rest of the nations of the world. But she did not; her whole history is one of crime and venality. She was enthusiastic in teaching religion and propagated it day and night without cessation. The people were as enthusiastic in its reception and observances; and in proportion as the people, rich and poor, became more superstitious, they appeared to pay less attention to moral obligations, and sank into vices that are perfectly repugnant to our contemplation. By the continued application of the same laws of increase to the same faculty of the mind, generation after generation, the people were rendered almost perfectly superstitious and wholly controllable as far as any religion will render any possible restraint.

While this religious element in the masses was in continuity of increase by stimulation, that of the moral was atrophying from continued disuse. Age after age Egypt made application of the same laws to the same faculties, and consequently created a perfect activity in the former and a corresponding

passivity or extinction of the latter. There is reason to believe that when a nation has fallen so low, morally, as that of the Egyptian was 1000 B. C., and for a long time before the subversion of her political establishment, it is, to say the least, next to an impossibility to revive the moral elements of the mind so as to give them any influence upon the character of the people. This may in some measure account for the fact, that none of those ancient states, such as Babylon, Media, Persia, Grecia and Rome, could ever be re-established.

This false assumption, this erroneous doctrine, that the religious contains the moral, has been one of two of the principal causes of all of man's misfortunes, past and present. Individuals and nations exist and expire only by the natural laws. Nature, has, however, fixed a period at the end of which all organisms must cease, as far as that to which man's individuality relates. But there is no more necessity for this termination of a nationality, than there is that the human race shall altogether cease to exist. That the disappearance of the moral works an extinction of the political body, beyond the hope of resurrection, we shall, in a subsequent part of this work, attempt to show, together with the manner in which it has taken place.

In order to clearly discover the religious character and conditional opportunities for moral conduct,

together with the principal events influencing both, it is necessary first to know about the age in which any given people lived, the portion of the globe which they inhabited, that the hereditary qualities and the influences of climate may be, in part, met with something like an approximate determination. The origin, or something of the characteristics of ancestors, assists us in this investigation, for it is generally admitted that man not only receives certain qualities, but certain degrees of quality, by hereditament. When individuals, in human affairs, observe certain events, such as commercial crises, repeating themselves in a periodical manner, they are too apt to suppose them to be operations of the natural laws in a normal state. Statistics have been studied under the same regulation of thought. Little attention has been paid to the present and the primal past state, in order to ascertain whether man's mind is now in a normal condition or not. If, by a comparison of the two extremes, the first and the last, and if, also, by tracing the history of the mind, it prove to have been warped and rendered nugatory in some portions of its effects, it tends to establish that commercial crises and their kind are rather consequences of incautious and improvident states of mind, than attributable to any natural law controlling the human mind in a fully developed condition. If, therefore, we are enabled to show that, by

the assumptions of divines and the sacerdocy generally, their theological doctrines have been productive of a mental departure, and the mind tortured into an unnatural condition, it follows from it that it is unsafe to further rely upon their claims or calculations

The history of all nations, in ancient times, exhibits abundant evidence that, while the people were extremely religious, they were sunken in vices. And few nations afford better proof of this than the republic of Carthage.

The Carthaginians were a colony of Tyrians expelled from their native country through political troubles in the royal family of the latter power.<sup>1</sup> The foundation of the city was attributed to a princess by the name of Dido. She had married Ascerbas, a man of like qualities as to his origin, who was murdered by the king of Tyre, his own brother, for the possession of his great riches. This caused the princess to regard her own life insecure, and accordingly passed out of the dominions of the kingdom with all the valuables that were portable of her husband's effects, and settled on the continent of Africa, on the shore of the Mediterranean. She was accompanied by a few followers, who settled with her on the coast, secured, by this distance of locality, from the tyranny of modern Tyre. The place in which they settled had been and

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<sup>1</sup> ROLLIN'S ANCIENT HISTORY, vol. 1, page 78.



then was the abode of pirates. The two classes, possessing a common dread of civilized life, were peaceful, and, very naturally under the circumstances, considered the interests of the one that of the other—they mingled and blended the objects of their lives into one. Their settlement became united and formed a small nation, owing allegiance and paying tribute to no foreign government.

Their ancestors had been and still were a nation of questionable merchants, the only object and satisfaction of whom appears to have been the acquisition of wealth. They seemed to have been actuated by no other motives but those of gain, and possessed of no feelings which elevate men above the animals of the earth. Their moral feelings were hardened to every vice, lowering the nobler sentiments of their minds to such a condition of subserviency to their selfish powers, that it gave them the capacity to commit any crime, however base, that contributed to satisfy an absorbing desire. About the only true difference between this commercial nation and the corsairs which thronged the Mediterranean, in characteristics, appears from the conduct of each, that the latter possessed sufficient honesty to declare their purpose, while the former did not. The pirate took the property of others wrongfully, by the power of the sword, while the merchant of Tyre, under the garb of legitimate

and honest trade, obtained his by perjury and fraud. The pirate was above denying the nature of his vocation, while the merchant constantly falsified to conceal his. The former was an odious and dangerous robber upon the high seas, while the latter was a lying thief, dwelling in princely residences in a capital city. The corsair squandered the spoils of his unlawful gain, while the accumulations of the merchant rusted and corroded in his own possession. The merchant with his money fitted out ships to prey upon the commerce of nations, receiving the spoils due to him under the contract, while the pirate underwent the hazard and encountered the disgrace which attached to the character of an outlaw.

Yet both were equally religious, bowing before the same shrine, and, with due reverence, worshipping the same gods. At this time Polytheism or Feticism prevailed, except among the Jews, throughout the entire earth. Both outlaw and merchant, back to an indefinite period, had possessed the advantages of religious educations. For more than a thousand years they had been taught by their clerical instructors, thou shalt not steal, nor charge usury, nor lie, nor rob, and all the rest of the catalogue of moral virtues, by religious teachers.<sup>2</sup> Yet it had little or no effect upon

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<sup>2</sup> "For there is, unquestionably, nothing to be found in the world which has undergone so little change as those great dogmas of which moral systems

them. The more they worshiped, the worse, morally, they seemed to become. The constant appearance of the marvelous rendered their minds superstitious, and they believed in special providential interventions.

They constantly prayed to benevolent deities to purify their wicked hearts. They offered up sacrifices, both animal and human, to appease the wrath of the gods and balance them in the petitioners' favor. They constantly reminded these worshipful beings of the shortcomings of mortality and their own wishes to become just. Yet all this address of religion was wholly unable to even preserve this nation to the principles of virtue, and she continued to descend into repugnant vices, until she was destroyed by those very laws which she had set at defiance.

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are composed. To do good to others; to sacrifice for their own benefit your best wishes; to love your neighbor as yourself; to forgive your enemy; to restrain your passions; to honor your parents; to respect those who are set over you; but they have been known for thousands of years, and not one jot or tittle has been added to them by all the sermons, homilies and text-books which moralists and theologians have been able to produce.

"That the system of morals propounded in the New Testament contained no maxim which had not been previously enunciated, and that some of the most beautiful passages in the Apostolic writings are quotations from pagan authors, is well known to every scholar; and so far from supplying, as some suppose, an objection against Christianity, it is a strong recommendation of it, as indicative of the intimate relation between the doctrines of Christ and the moral sympathies of mankind in different ages. But to assert that Christianity communicated to man moral truths previously unknown, argues, on the part of the asserter, either gross ignorance or willful fraud. For evidence of the knowledge of moral truths was possessed by barbarians independently of Christianity, and for the most part previously to its promulgation."—BUCKLE'S HISTORY OF CIVILIZATION IN ENGLAND, vol. 1, page 129. See also note at bottom of same page.

Wealth purchased about everything. It purchased influential friends, who endorsed the vilest of individual acts, or firmly denied them. The best or worst social communities took persons to their confidence, into the bosom of their association, and beset them with the foulest of flattery, if they possessed this one element of consideration. But however much that society may have endeavored to make the initiated forget his vices and shield them from the public gaze, they could not be obscured nor withdrawn from the retrospection of his own conscience. He therefore was accompanied through life with a strong feeling of disquietude, lessening the effect of that noble merit, under which, by the full enjoyment of the moral powers, the individual possessor was impressed. Although he did not always carry with him a distinct knowledge of the cause of this effect, he was nevertheless justly degraded in that self estimation, that firm and satisfactory moral courage which God designed should be the reward of the virtuous. After this self respect was thus once lost, however little known to the outside world, the person was fully conscious of his own inner fall and did not hesitate at the commission of other crimes, if they came not too suddenly into broad contrast with public reproof and his own incipient degeneration.

But the moment that fortune frowned—the moment

that that individual had more of an appearance of want than of wealth, however virtuous and intellectual he may have been—that very society which received him with such polished and flattering addresses, no longer deemed his social qualities worthy of the least attention, and probably denied, by non-recognition or similar acts, that it ever knew him. Like the savages of Africa, he was no longer possessed of those bone ornaments of the nose; he had lost those accumulations of material objects which were significant consequences of his untutored associates. He, perhaps, was unable to tattoo his skin after the most approved style of the leading savages of his tribe.

All these things predominated in the social world 2000 B. C.; and from the founding of modern Tyre to its conquest by Alexander, even down to the day of the excision of Carthage, the only method of measuring one's respectability was by the length of his purse. From that day to this the above, among other systems of corruptions, both generated by ignorance and superstition, have been repeating themselves. Every nation that has ever existed, has been compelled to pass through them all on its highway to its fall. It is not necessary, we apprehend, that the whole population of a government should be subjected to the corrupting processes which have been here enunciated. Yet when a nation is so far lost to all moral considerations,



that a majority of its inhabitants seek nothing but wealth, official distinction, social pre-eminence, and the vain official exaltation of individual self, there is reason to believe that the united power of the nation is departed, and that it is rapidly approaching a period not far distant at which the top of the edifice of its political fabric will be prostrated to the base.

These ancients were no children; they could see into the character of their passing predecessors by daily acts. They witnessed all these barbarous principles carried out in detail. Their gold was their power; with it the souls and bodies of men and women could be purchased and in great part controlled. These all had their direct influences in expunging morality from the mind of the Tyrians, the only basis upon which human happiness and permanent prosperity can be reposed. It matters not, however, in the result, whether the descent from a moral position to one of inner mental turpitude, be wrought in a den of outlaws or in the polished circles of society. The one may be rough and uncouth in his appearance, while the other is what is erroneously called refined; but both are alike barbarous in their feelings and destitute of all moral principles. It was from such elements of depravity that the Carthaginians derived their origin.

‘Carthage existed a little over seven hundred

years. It was destroyed under the consulate of C. Lentulus and L. Mummius, the 603d year of Rome, 3859th of the world, and 145th before Christ. The foundation of it may therefore be fixed in the year of the world 3158, when Joash was king of Judah, 98 years before the building of Rome, and 846 before our Saviour."<sup>3</sup>

Babylon, Assyria, Media, Persia, Greece and Rome were the principal contemporary nations with Carthage. There were smaller states in Asia and Africa, not far distant from the boundaries of the Carthaginian republic, upon which, without any just cause, she made war and subjected to tributary provinces, to subserve her own interests and to aggrandize her own power. Whatever nation upon the Mediterranean escaped the avarice of Tyre in the east, most invariably fell into the hands of this piratical republic of the west. She began her national career by purchasing the territory over which she exercised the jurisdiction of government. Its value was trusted to her honesty, the payment of which she soon after exhibited her worthiness to confidence by wholly refusing to satisfy the demands. By the breach of this contract a war, the inevitable consequence, under such circumstances, with independent powers, followed, in which the Carthaginians were defeated and compelled to execute their agreement, but not

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<sup>3</sup> ROLLIN'S ANCIENT HISTORY, vol. 1, page 73.

till after a severe trial at arms, the desolation of their country and the subjection of their forces. A just penalty of death to many of her citizens, and financial distress to the whole nation, was in this manner visited upon her for her perfidy. Thus the beginning of her intercourse with independent nationalities was marked by a treachery which she sealed with her blood, and forever afterward stamped the character of the nation as one of bad faith alike to friends and to foes.

She then carried war into the dominions of Numidia and Mauritania, ostensibly for the purposes of spoil and to acquire that military skill of which, in her first, she was wholly destitute. After thus replenishing her treasury and possessing herself of this knowledge in other fields against unoffending powers, she turned her arms against her benefactor, and blotted out her indebtedness with the blood and bondage of her creditors. After having finished her wars of subjection of the surrounding nationalities, her armies are next found in wars of conquest of the independent cities of the sea and the smaller principalities of Spain.

After having thus far introduced the political organization of that people, whose character, both religious and moral, we design to trace, we shall endeavor to prove their great piety, and, after that, the continued degeneracy of the most important part of their mental

being. But, as is well known to scholars, the literature of Carthage having been lost so that scarcely any of its remains have come down to us, and none at all which bears any relation to the history of the customs and usages of the people, we shall be compelled to rely upon the integrity of writers of contemporary states. And as the republics of Rome and Carthage were the most extensive and enterprising powers of antiquity; as they were nearly the same in the construction of their political governments; as they were nations of aggression and conquest; as they were situated very nearly in the same longitudinal portion of the globe; as the dominions of the one were in proximity to the other; in fine, as they bore a great resemblance to each other in almost every particular, there is reason to believe from analogy that the religious proclivity of the one was almost a facsimile of the other. It is, therefore, by tracing the history of the religious acts of the Romans during their war with the Carthaginians—the second great contest between these powers for universal empire, and that one, too, which, begun under such favorable aspects for the Carthaginians, even threatening the subversion of Rome, ended by the subordination of all northern Africa to the valorous arms of Europe—that we expect to impress on the mind of the reader the extreme religious feelings that swayed the people of this ancient



state. If the inhabitants of the two states were very nearly alike in their mental habits in other respects, it is tolerably safe to conclude that they were equally so in religion. A brief recital of the daily piety and superstition of the Romans may, therefore, throw much light on that of the Carthaginians.<sup>4</sup>

The second Punic war was, perhaps, the most remarkable that has ever taken place, as not only the sovereignty of the world was the reward of the conqueror, but also servile bondage and political extinction to the defeated. Upon such conditions it was that Carthage and Rome took up arms, and although the manner of its termination was of the utmost importance to the parties involved, its duration was still more so to that portion of mankind which was destined by nature to follow them in succession. To their benighted minds the culmination of all human glory, or direst disaster, was to follow as a

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<sup>4</sup> On discussion by analogy, a very able author has observed: "There can be no doubt that every [such] resemblance which can be pointed out between B and A, affords some degree of probability, beyond what would otherwise exist, in favor of the conclusion drawn from it. If B resembled A in all its ultimate properties, its possessing the attribute *m* would be a certainty, not a probability and every resemblance which can be shown to exist between them, places it by so much nearer to that point. If the resemblance be in an ultimate property, there will be resemblance in all the derivative properties dependent on that ultimate property, and of these *m* may be one. If the resemblance be a derivative property, there is reason to expect resemblance in the ultimate property on which it depends, and in the other derivative properties dependent upon the same ultimate property. Every resemblance which can be shown to exist, affords grounds for expecting an indefinite number of other resemblances."—JOHN STUART MILL'S SYSTEM OF LOGIC, page 333.



result, and the sequel fully indicates, as calamity and good fortune alternately shook the courage and flattered the hopes of the North and the South, it did also increase the zest for religious ceremonies of those two states, among citizens at home and abroad. In either event with them, as it has ever had a tendency with all mankind, it proved fatal to the liberties of both; those evil passions which the contest generated finally overturned their freedom, and whatever might be the appearance of the government of either in its liberal formation, it succeeded in removing the only true foundation of mortal greatness.

It is then by following the bloody trail of devastating armies in the territories of each of these hostile nations, that we discover a partial exhibition of the religion of its people. History, unfortunately for us, has not been written in such manner as to give enquirers the best instruction from facts for our guidance in the future; and we are thereupon forced to search through many and various authors of those and subsequent times, and thus snatch our information of facts from sources in which they appear to be concealed.

During the first Punic war the sovereignty of the sea and the control of Sicily had by each been alternately regained and lost. A war begun by accident or jealousy, and probably without the design of leading to a regular war on the part of either, grew into an

acrimonious conflict of twenty-four years' duration, ceasing only when both parties were grown gray and weary of a burden whose demands had drained the contending powers of their money and the ablest of their men. The rivalry, the hatred, of the two nations were here generated, with all the force that external influence is capable of producing upon the inner man. Its continuance was sufficiently long for the feelings of bitterness to reach and enthrone themselves on the soul of every member of each of these great republics. So perfectly had this been wrought, that the highest families of Carthage and Rome, those whose intelligence enabled them to control, in great measure, the government of the countries to which they respectively belonged, had become as embittered as the slaves or mercenaries whom they bought and sold. The feelings of revenge were then not only exercised by the weak and base, but by the high and powerful also. It was this spirit in the Barcine family and faction that first began the attack upon the allies of the Romans and then caused an invasion of their territories. This last conduct on the part of their leading military commander was, shortly after the taking of Saguntum, ratified by the republic of the south, and thereupon became a national act. After the last effort on the part of the Romans for a maintenance of peace, and its failure, both parties, with the characteristics

and alacrity of tigers, each intent on the destruction of the other, sprang to arms. During seventeen years those two powers exerted every effort which nature had given them, and, under the action of their wild and superstitious minds, endeavored to disturb the peace of the gods, by offerings of sacrifices and of gold, to purchase a division and thus engage the heavens in contention on earth in the affairs of men. Such were the feelings of rich and poor, high and low, free and slave, of both at the beginning of the second Punic war.

We have before observed that our only enquiry by this chapter is to discover the condition of the religious faculties of the mind, by the manifestation of their effects among the Carthaginians, and then to contrast whatever we find this to have been with their actual moral status. This we do for the removal of an old obstacle, an ecclesiastical error, as current to-day as it ever was, and stands in the way, we feel, of all moral progress. By the assumptions of it, divines have affirmed and publicly taught, from their pulpits and works of letters, that it is the only salvation of men, of society and of civilized governments, when it has been one of several causes of the destruction of them all. And so long have these facts hung over the minds of mankind, and the most intelligent witnessing the utter inefficiency of it to meet the requirements

of its earnest claims, that many, disconnected to religion, have been driven to the other extreme, and in the abstract, and also in perfect disconsolation, endorsed the theological doctrine of man's total depravity. But some of the most comprehensive portions, with more elastic hopes, have been unwilling to surrender man back into that darkness in which this barbarous and atheistic idea would place him.<sup>5</sup>

Years before the beginning of the second war, the die was cast, and the fate of Carthage was sealed. Hamilcar, after the close of the African war, conceived the plan to extinguish the Romans. In him, hatred found no repose, and so enthusiastic was he in his feelings and the execution of his plot, that he engaged in a life labor to subject all Spain by arms and the arts of intrigues, that it might serve as a base from which to draw his supplies of money and mercenaries. But as life is short and his undertakings great, wishing above all things to extend the calamities of his enemies, and desirous, also, in case of his own failure, to

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<sup>5</sup> The New and the Old Testament contain moral commandments, but they were addressed to the moral sentiments and not to the religious. Because religion and morals were taught by devout personages, subsequent ecclesiastics confounded the operations of both, supposing that the latter emanated from the former. But religious lawgivers held two positions, the one upon religion, the other upon morals; and it appears evident to us that it was designed to be left to man to so independently develop the primitive causes of each that he can obey the injunctions of both. Divines claim that individuals experiencing religious convictions and repentance are instantly reversed in disposition of moral evil, without undergoing any farther discipline of the moral sentiments, thus holding that every moral good arises from the spiritual feelings.



produce the effect of his scheme, he designedly transmitted his animosity to the succeeding generation of his own family. When about to set out on his expedition to Spain, and was offering sacrifices to the gods of war, he caused his son Hannibal "to lay his hand on the consecrated victim," and by oath bind himself in solemn obligations to the gods, that he would ever be a vindictive enemy of the Romans.<sup>6</sup> It appears, from all that we can learn, that Hamilcar was strictly devoted to the religion of his country, and by this act of his we see that he durst not set out on his adventure without first making supplications to the gods; a combination of piety and animal resentment. A war thus begun by the hatred which the Carthaginians bore to the people of Rome, was not counteracted by piety nor restrained in the least by religious obligations, but, on the contrary, was the instrument by which it was rendered more inveterate, having given it the solemn sanction of its imposing ceremonies. Hamilcar, however, did not live to carry the war

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6 That the ablest men of Carthage, and those, too, which were the best educated, were religious to a scrupulous degree, the following produces some evidence in its support: "We are told that when Hamilcar was about to march at the head of an army into Spain, after conclusion of the war in Africa," [also after the first Punic war,] "and was offering sacrifices on the occasion," [to Hercules,] "his son Hannibal, then about nine years of age, solicited him, with boyish fondness, to take him with him, whereon he brought him up to the altars, and compelled him to lay his hand on the consecrated victim, and swear, that, as soon it should be in his power, he would show himself an enemy to the Roman people."—SPILLAN'S TRANSLATION OF LIVY, lib. 21, ch. 1.



into the dominions of his foes, for the same animal resentment which he manifested toward Rome was exercised upon him. The command of the armies then fell to his son-in-law, Hasdrubal, and after eight years from the death of the father, it was, by the unanimous voice of the army and the vote of the senate, conferred upon his son Hannibal.

The Carthaginians and Romans entered into no obligations nor enterprises, without first offering sacrifices to the proper divinities, keeping fasts and feasts, also other religious ceremonies which, as they supposed, were necessary to the good will of the gods—in other words, to purchase their favor, treating them as articles of public barter. So, therefore, when any disaster or important event was impending, or about to be undertaken, the sacred oracles, among the Romans, must read the Sibylline books, and interpret the prophecies which they contained. It was also necessary that the manner in which birds took their flight, be taken into consideration; and that the aruspice examine the entrails of animals, there to discover the general or particular nature of the event which they, good or evil, never failed to portend. An appearance of war alike increased their fears, their courage, and the darkness of their superstition. As the enemy against which the Romans had to contend, after the taking of Saguntum, was under the personal control

of one of the greatest and most experienced officers that had ever appeared in the field to compete for the glory of empire, they were greatly wrought upon by their fears and superstition. Before it was known at Rome that Hannibal had crossed the Alps, the armies of the two nations were confronting each other, the Roman under the command of Scipio, on the banks of the rivers Po and Ticinus. But an invasion under the direction of Hannibal, a man of the greatest reputation, for no other ostensible object but the conquest of Rome, was one of deep interest and importance to the metropolis of Europe. Scipio had dispatched one-half of the army, the veterans, to Spain, under the command of his brother, and hence the troops which he had under his immediate orders, were raw recruits from the ranks of civilians, who were fresh from the religious instruction of their clerical masters. As the armies drew their lines toward each other to engage for the possession of Italy, we are told that two wonderful prodigies<sup>7</sup> occurred, which caused fear to seize the soldiers, and in the battle which followed, the Roman army suffered almost an entire overthrow. But the advance of Hannibal was rapid, and those

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<sup>7</sup> Livy, in speaking of the hesitancy of the Romans to engage, observes: "By no means so great alacrity prevailed among the Romans, who, in addition to other causes, were also alarmed by recent prodigies; for both a wolf had entered the camp, and, having torn those who met him, had escaped unhurt; and a swarm of bees had lit on a tree overhanging the consul's tent."—SPILLAN'S TRANSLATION OF LIVY, lib. 21, sec. 46. A. U. C. 534.

men of the northern republic who had been accustomed to look upon a close engagement as a sure defeat to the Carthaginians, were overthrown in every battle by the extraordinary abilities of this great master. No such captain had ever appeared in Europe, and after the third great battle, near Placentia, his merit as a soldier was raised above that of any which had ever existed. Two consular armies had been defeated in desperate engagements; and when the Roman people found they could not rely on their former strength, their invincible armies, and there was no hope on earth, the mind of the people inclined to its customary dependence on the gods above. Everything was magnified into an omen, auguring destruction to the state and enslavement to its inhabitants. Under the apprehension of pressing danger and the religious notions of the Romans, in the great city and vicinity several prodigies were reported, which threw the capital and country into consternation.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> At the capital and its surrounding neighborhood we are informed that several supernatural occurrences took place which betokened no minor calamities to the inhabitants of the nation. It was reported that "an infant in a respectable family, and only six months old, in the herb market, had spoken out, 'Io triumphe'; that in the cattle market an ox had, of his own accord, mounted up to the third story of a house, when, being affrighted by the noise and bustle of the inhabitants, he threw himself down; that a light had appeared in the sky in the form of ships; that the temple of Hope, in the herb market, was struck by lightning; that at Lanuvium the spear of Juno had shaken of itself; and that a crow had flown into the temple of Juno and pitched on the very couch; that in the district of Amternum, in many places, apparitions of men in white garments had been seen at a distance, but had not come close to anybody; that in Picenum a shower of stones had fallen;

With the advance of Hannibal the religious feelings of the Romans appeared to be reduplicated. In the year of Rome 535, the second year of the war, and just before the battle fought on the banks of Lake Trasimenus, the minds of the people of Italy were greatly startled and terrified by the ominous prodigies through which the ill-disposed gods were, in their peculiar way, foreshadowing calamities to the Roman state.<sup>9</sup> Considering the length of the first war, together with the

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at Cære the divining tickets had diminished in size; in Gaul a wolf had snatched the sword of a soldier on guard out of the scabbard, and run away with it. With respect to the other prodigies, the decemvirs were commanded to consult the books," [Sibylline,] "but on account of the shower of stones in Picenum, the nine days' festival was ordered to be celebrated, and the expiating of the rest, one after the other, was almost the sole occupation of the state. In the first place was performed a purification of the city; victims of the greater kinds were offered to such gods as were pointed out by directions. An offering of forty pounds weight of gold was carried to the temple of Juno at Lanuvium, and the matrons dedicated a brazen statue to Juno on the Aventine. A lectisternium was ordered at Cære, where the divining tickets had diminished, also a supplication to fortune at Algidum. At Rome, likewise, a lectisternium was ordered in honor of the goddess Youth, and a supplication to be performed by individuals at the temple of Hercules, and then by the whole body of the people at all the several shrines. To Genius five of the greater victims were offered; and the pretor Calus Atilius Seranus was ordered to vow certain performances, in case the commonwealth should continue for ten years in its present state. These expiations and vows being performed in conformity to the directions of the Sibylline books, people's minds were, in good measure, relieved from the burden of religious apprehension."—A. U. C. 534; BAKER'S TRANSLATION OF LIVY, vol. 2, page 286.

9 "Prodigies announced from many places at the same time augmented the terror: in Sicily, that several darts belonging to the soldiers had taken fire; and in Sardinia, that the staff of a horseman, who was going his rounds, took fire as he held it in his hand; that the shores had blazed frequently with fires; that two shields had sweated blood at Præneste; that red-hot stones had fallen from the heavens at Arpi; that shields were seen in the heavens, and the sun fighting with the moon, at Capena; that two moons rose in the daytime; that the waters of Cære had flowed mixed with blood; and even the fountain of Hercules had flowed sprinkled with spots of blood; in the territory of Antium, that bloody ears of corn had fallen into the basket



extraordinary exertions and expenditures which the state was forced to make, and the almost continual wars which the Gauls and neighboring tribes were, during the interval of peace, waging against Rome, there could have been nothing but depleted treasuries and impoverished peoples at the commencement of the second Punic war. Gold and silver were less plenty then than now, as also were the productions of

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as they were reaping; at Falerii, that the heavens appeared cleft as if with a great chasm, and when it had opened a vast light had shone forth; that the prophetic tablets had spontaneously become less, and that one had fallen out thus inscribed, 'Mars brandishes his spear;' during the same time, that the statue of Mars at Rome, on the Appian Way, had sweated at the sight of the images of the wolves; at Capua, that there had been the appearance of the heavens being on fire, and of the moon as falling among rain. After these, credit was given to prodigies of less magnitude: that the goats of certain persons had borne wool; that a hen had changed herself into a cock, and a cock into a hen. These things having been laid before the senate as reported, the authors being conducted into the senate house, the consul took the sense of the fathers on religious affairs. It was decreed that those prodigies should be expiated, partly with full-grown victims, partly with sucking victims, and that a supplication should be made at every shrine for the space of three days; that the other things should be done accordingly as the gods should declare in their oracles to be agreeable to them all, when the decemviri had examined the books. By the advice of the decemviri it was decreed, first, that a golden thunderbolt of fifty pounds weight should be made as an offering to Jupiter; that offerings of silver should be presented to Juno and Minerva; that sacrifices of full-grown victims should be offered to Juno Regina on the Aventine, and to Juno Sospita at Lanuvium; that the matrons, contributing as much money as might be convenient to each, should carry it to the Aventine as a present to Juno Regina; and that a lectisternium should be celebrated. Moreover that the very freedmen should, according to their means, contribute money from which a present might be made to Florina. When these things were done, the decemviri sacrificed with the larger victims in the forum at Ardea. Lastly, it being now the month of December, a sacrifice was made at the temple of Saturn at Rome, and a lectisternium ordered, in which senators prepared the couch and a public banquet. Proclamation was made through the city that the Saturnalia should be kept for a day and a night; and the people were commanded to account that day as a holiday, and observe it forever."—SPILLAN'S TRANSLATION OF LIVY, vol. 2, pages 76-77.



agriculturists. The earth had not then become a subject of scientific enquiry. But, as we have seen by our authority above, their absurd superstition continually disarmed them by foolishly squandering those means by which alone a nation can, in times of war, be strengthened and supported. In this age, at Rome, almost as much as at Carthage, money had well nigh become the chief pursuit of man. In Africa this was man's highest aim, for by it all honors were obtainable; in Europe it was very similar, rapidly coming up to a condition by which it would eventually absorb every other passion, but had not yet reached the degree of importance of a perfect supremacy. And, therefore, when we consider the tenacious greed which miserly tendencies in the human mind produce for whatever relates to wealth, and the release of these strongest passions of the soul in favor of imaginary divinities, it is conclusive evidence that the religious faculties have become stronger, in thus controlling the passions of man, than those faculties which are the immediate and connected antecedents of the feelings for pearls and diamonds.

It cannot be charged to the nation at large that the ignorant multitude alone were superstitious, for it is mentioned by Livy that after the battle of Trasimenus and the defeat of the Roman army, the most intelligent senators of the state attributed the loss of victory

to Caius Flaminius' neglect to consult the auspices and to his skepticism of religious ceremonies. This historian alleges that Fabius (at the time dictator) distinctly proved it to be owing wholly to Flaminius' great indifference to significant omens, by which the gods retailed future prosperities and misfortunes to the inhabitants of earth.<sup>10</sup> That the last great disaster to the national forces was wholly due to the irreligion of Flaminius, was then the determined judgment of both patricians and commons. And an impartial historian of the times avers, not in words but in substance, that the Romans were extremely religious, and this, too, without exception of classes or conditions.<sup>11</sup> Flaminius was one of

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10 "Quintus Fabius Maximus, a second time dictator, assembled the senate the very day he entered on his office, and commencing with what related to the gods, after he had distinctly proved to the fathers that Caius Flaminius had erred more from neglect of the ceremonies and auspices than from temerity and want of judgment, and that the gods themselves should be consulted as to what were the expiations of their anger, he obtained a resolution that the decemviri should be ordered to inspect the Sibylline books, which is rarely decreed, except when some horrid prodigies were announced. Having inspected the prophetic books, they reported that the vow which was made to Mars on account of this war, not having been regularly fulfilled, must be performed afresh and more fully; that the great games must be vowed to Jupiter, temples to Venus Erycina and Mars; that a supplication and lectisternium must be made, and a sacred spring vowed, if the war should proceed favorably and the state continue in the condition it was before the war."—SPILLAN'S TRANSLATION OF LIVY, vol. 2, page 87.

11 Just before the battle of Cannæ, which almost completed the entire conquest of Rome, contemplating the proneness of the Romans to accept pagan ecclesiastical imposture as consequences of divine will, a philosophic historian observes: "When it was known at Rome that the armies were encamped in sight, and that frequent skirmishes happened every day between them, the whole city was filled with agitation and concern. For the people were so

the very few who was not devoted to the religion of Polytheism. It is almost impossible to recur to any period of the second Punic war, without finding the minds of the inhabitants distracted by fear that the gods had become angry and taken sides against them in favor of their enemy.

When the people had recovered from their last reverse, at lake Trasimenus, having recruited eighty-seven thousand soldiers, by which to oppose the destructive progress of Hannibal, they were still, notwithstanding the prosperous condition of their affairs, greatly agitated by fears in consequence of several prodigies which had then recently occurred.<sup>12</sup> And when Hannibal was unable to entrap the consul Paulus Æmilius, just before the battle of Cannæ, and

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much dejected by their remembrance of former defeats and losses, they seemed now to apprehend the worst that could befall them, and to anticipate in their own minds all the fatal consequences of an entire defeat. The oracles of their sacred books were repeated in every mouth. Every temple and every house was filled with prodigies and portents, which gave occasion to innumerable vows and prayers and supplicatory sacrifices. For in times of danger or distress, the Romans take universal pains to appease the wrath of the gods and men; and thinking nothing sordid or dishonorable that is employed in that design."—HAMPTON'S POLYBIUS, vol. 1, lib. 3, page 310.

<sup>12</sup> "Before, however, the new-raised legions marched from the city, the decemvirs were ordered to have recourse to and inspect the sacred volumes, on account of persons having been greatly alarmed by extraordinary prodigies; for intelligence was brought that it had rained stones on the Aventine at Rome and at Aricia at the same time; that among the Sabines, statues, had sweated copiously, and at Cære the waters had flowed warm from the fountain. The latter prodigy excited a greater degree of alarm, because it had frequently occurred. In a street called the Arched Way, near the Campus Martius, several men were struck by lightning and killed. These prodigies were expiated according to the books."—SPILLAN'S TRANSLATION OF LIVY, lib. 22, ch. 36.

retreated, the chickens of the consul were portentous of adversity to his own forces, and, if we may believe the historian of Rome, it was the means by which the worthless Terrentius Varro was restrained from antedating the calamities of Cannæ.<sup>13</sup> With the increase of misfortunes there appeared to be a revival of the cruel rites of the Roman religion. Two priestesses had violated the obligations of their sacred office;<sup>14</sup> this gave fresh apprehension of impending evil. After the disaster at the village of Cannæ, Hannibal marched against the town of Nola, and there fought a battle for the possession of the place. Here he met successful opposition, the first defeat which he had suffered during the war by Marcus Claudius Marcellus. After this, their first victory over Hannibal, the citizens of

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<sup>13</sup> "Paulus, whom, unwilling from his own suggestions to move, the chickens had not encouraged by their auspices, ordered the unlucky omen to be reported to his colleague, when he was now leading the troops out of the gate. And though Varro bore it impatiently, yet the recent discomfiture of Flaminius, and the recorded naval defeat of Claudius, the consul in the first Punic war, struck religious scruples into his mind."—SPILLAN'S TRANSLATION OF LIVY, ch. 42.

<sup>14</sup> After the battle of Cannæ, in which two consular armies were lost, the people were less affected by it than they were "by several prodigies; and particularly by two vestals, Opimia and Floronia, being convicted of incontinence; one of them was, according to custom, buried alive near the Colline gate; the other voluntarily put an end to her own life. The decemvirs were ordered to consult the books. Quintus Fabius Pictor was sent also to Delphi, to consult the oracle, and discover by what supplications and worship they might be able to appease the gods, and by what means a stop might be put to such a heavy train of misfortunes. Meanwhile, according to the directions of the books of the fates, several extraordinary sacrifices were performed; among which a male and female Gaul, and a male and female Greek, were buried alive in the cattle market in a vault built round with stones; a place which had already, by a practice abhorrent from the religion of Rome, been polluted with human victims."—IBID., lib. 22, ch. 57.



Rome desired to reward the valor and great abilities of Claudius by elevating him to the consulate. But, when, after his election, he entered upon the duties of the office to discharge them, it thundered, whereupon the patricians reported and declared that it was a manifest displeasure of the gods, at the election of two plebian consuls at the same time. In consequence of it Claudius resigned, the only man at all competent to discharge the duties of that high office against so distinguished an enemy. Thunder was not all that at this time frightened the Romans, and caused them to earnestly desire the resignation of one of the consuls. At the time it thundered it was reported that the sea appeared to be on fire ; and at Linnessa a cow had given birth to a colt ; at Lanuvium the statues in the temple of Juno Sospita had sweated with blood ; and in the vicinity of the same place stones had fallen instead of rain. There were many other prodigies, the report of which has not reached us ; and on all these the Romans wasted nine days by stupidly expiating them,<sup>15</sup> while the Carthaginians were ranging through the country committing all to the flames. This was in the year of Rome 537 ; the following year they were again frightened by several ominous prodigies, which, if no more to them, indicated clearly the position, or the sympathy, of the gods in this contest

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<sup>15</sup> SPILLAN'S TRANSLATION OF LIVY, lib. 23, ch. 30.



of continents. Crows had made a nest in the temple of Juno Sospita at Lanuvium; a green palm tree had of its own accord taken fire in Apulia; an eddy of one of the rivers had changed its color to that of blood; at Cales chalk had fallen, as also had blood in showers in the cattle market of the city of Rome; a fountain underground in the street Istrian of the great city had flowed with such force as to carry away the butts and casks near it; that one of the courts in the city had been struck by lightning, as had also the temple of Vulcan in the Campus Martius; a tree and a stone wall had been visited by the same power; the spear of Mars at Præneste moved to and fro without being caused by any visible assistance; and an altar in one of the provinces was seen in the heavens surrounded by the spirits of dead men; a swarm of bees having made their way into the forum caused, by its alarm, the arming of the multitude; armed legions were seen at Janiculum, when in reality none were there; at Spoletum a woman had been transformed into a man; in the womb of its mother a child had cried out, "Io triumphe!" and in Sicily an ox had spoken instead of an ass.<sup>16</sup>

In the year of Rome 539, a stone wall and the temple of Jupiter had been struck by lightning; ships had been seen on a certain river, when it was

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16 SPILLAN'S TRANSLATION OF LIVY, lib. 24, ch. 10.

well known by all in its vicinity that none were on it; arms had been heard to clash in the temple of Jupiter Vicilinus, and one of the rivers had changed its appearance to that of blood.<sup>17</sup> After having expiated those prodigies, the generals who were to protect the realm set out to expel the enemy from the heart of Italy.

In the year of A. U. C. 540, B. C. 212, in and about the capital more prodigies occurred, and were readily believed by the superstitious Romans, by all classes high and low. A shower of stones had fallen for two days without intermission on the Alban Mount; several buildings had been struck by lightning; a rampart was struck, and by it two soldiers were killed; walls and several towers at Cumæ were demolished; a great rock had been seen to fly about in the air; and the sun appeared red as though it had turned to blood. Several days were occupied by the highest officers of the state in expiating them, using up large sums of money in the necessary religious ceremonies and many cattle, when the treasury of the republic was in a condition of bankruptcy, and the army almost destitute of provisions.<sup>18</sup>

In this year, after the taking of Tarrentum, it became a question of considerable propriety regarding the religious ceremonies, which, to all classes,

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<sup>17</sup> SPILLAN'S TRANSLATION OF LIVY, lib. 24, ch. 44.

<sup>18</sup> *IBID.*, lib. 25, ch. 7.

appeared necessary by the extraordinary prophecies of Marcius, who, as the historian informs us, was a distinguished soothsayer. It was known that one of his prophetic utterances had been fulfilled to the utmost anticipation of the most devout. And a great misfortune it was to the welfare of Rome, that most all the copies from the hand of this favored individual were lost; but after long search one was found, which contained others not less important to the republic than that which had been so completely fulfilled by the great disaster of Cannæ. Several days, by nearly all the highest officers of state, were in consequence used up in consulting the gods as to the best method of offering sacrifices to their satisfaction. Large sums of money were expended; a gilded ox, a gilded heifer and two gilded goats were this time offered to the gods as considerations for their favor and good disposition to the republicans of Rome.<sup>19</sup>

Capua had been in the possession of Hannibal three years, but the Romans, desirous of its occupation, approached it with two consular armies for the

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<sup>19</sup> It may be interesting to see the syllabus of this prophesy, as it was one to which the Romans attached the utmost importance: Livy says that it was uttered in almost exact correspondence with the following words: "Romans of Trojan descent, fly the river Canna, lest foreigners should compel thee to fight in the plain of Diomedæ. But thou wilt not believe me until thou shalt have filled the plain with blood, and the river carries into the great sea, from the fruitful land, many thousands of your slain countrymen, and thy flesh becomes a prey for fishes, birds and beasts inhabiting the earth,"—SPILLAN'S TRANSLATION OF LIVY, lib. 25, ch. 12.

purpose of restoring it to the state. Tiberius Gracchus was directed, by their orders, to join them at Beneventum with his cavalry and light-armed troops, to protect in their absence the latter place. But he must, as was the known custom of the Romans, make autopsy of the entrails of animals and offer sacrifices to the gods before his departure, by the former to ascertain what events, good or evil, were going to follow as a result of the change. During the examination two serpents found their way, by divine direction, into the victim, ate some of the liver and then disappeared. To get a more favorable indication, the examination was repeated, and, says the historian, the vessels containing the entrails were watched with attention, that there might be no mistake. The serpents appeared a second and third time, and went away untouched.<sup>20</sup> Gracchus was cut off by the treachery of some of his own men; and construing his end with the aruspicy, the people considered that he had been amply forewarned by the gods. It is said that, before he set out, he had been told the omen related to his own death, and also that it would be the work of those who pretended to be his friends.

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<sup>20</sup> In speaking of the effect these prodigies had upon the minds of the soldiery, Livy remarks that, "Though the aruspice forewarned him" [Gracchus] "that the portent had reference to the general, and that he ought to be on his guard against secret enemies and machinations, yet no foresight could avert the destiny which awaited him."—SPILLAN'S TRANS. OF LIVY, lib. 25, ch. 16.

And after the battle of Herdonea, in which Cneius Fulvius, the Roman commander, with eleven military tribunes and almost the entire army, were either killed or captured, Marcus Claudius Marcellus dispatched news of the defeat to Rome, but, to inspire the people and to serve his country, added, that he would meet and defeat the conqueror. Notwithstanding, several prodigies were reported and believed by the superstitious multitude, noble and non-noble. Among a large number, a lamb had been yeaned with all the evidence of maturity at parturition; lightning had struck the ground in front of one of the gates at Anagnia, took fire, continued burning for twenty-four hours without being fed by any kind of fuel; birds had deserted their nests in the grove of Diana; large numbers of serpents had miraculously made their appearance in the sea of Tarricinia; in the grove of Feronia four statues had sweated blood profusely for twenty-four hours;<sup>21</sup> and most surprising of all, at Tarquinii a pig was brought forth with a human face.

The foregoing illustrations of the almost daily perturbations of religious fear and courage in the minds

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<sup>21</sup> In relating the degree of importance which the government attached to these marvelous occurrences, the same authority observes: "These prodigies were expiated with victims of the greater kind, according to a decree of the pontiffs, and a supplication was fixed to be performed for one day at Rome at all the shrines, and another in the territory of Capena, at the grove of Feronia."—SPILLAN'S TRANSLATION OF LIVY, lib. 27, ch. 5.



of the Romans during the second Punic war, are only a few significant facts, fully verifying the great piety and superstition of the people. These are only a few to the many thousands which occurred. Many more might have been added, but would have taken up space without adding proof to what is already established. These, though ridiculous in themselves, are, nevertheless, important when we attempt to discover the condition of the religious faculties of the mind at any time particularly sought for, with any given portion of mankind. I know of no other method by which this can be wrought but by tracing particular classes of effects to the sources of their origin, and, as it were, there measure those causes which produce consequences in accordance with their quality, activity and quantity. I have found only one nation, and but a particular class of that nation, in ancient times, that had become atheistic in their belief. This class had been students of philosophy in the Hellenic states. All nations, and, in fact, all grades in every nation, down to the Christian era, were strictly religious, zealously devoted to the peculiar worship of their own nationality. If there were any difference between the Romans and the Carthaginians in their religious characteristics regarding the quantity, it was in favor of the latter. This devotedness to piety was an effect, an exact measurement of the cause or

quantitative condition of the religious faculties in the minds of the two peoples. If the form of government, the usages, habits and customs of the people in these two republics very nearly resembled each other, in the religious condition of their fundamental faculties of the mind there was a proportionate assimilation. Religious, moral, intellectual and animal characteristics are consequences of actual phrenic causes, and nothing more nor less. Every one of these characteristics of mankind is referable to a distinct and independent cause in the mind; and it is by decomposition of the second that its consequent is either deforced or expunged from man's mental nature. If moral principles are direct and connected consequences of the primitive religious elements of the mind, as divines have claimed, it follows, *a priori*, that those nations whose religious qualities are found to have been in greatest development, should correlatively present us with the possession of the highest moral properties. But unfortunately the converse is too true, as the records of all past ages have always proven, without a single exception.

The superstition of the Romans and their religious ceremonies were no more than a fair picture of what we may unmistakably conclude the Carthaginians to have been. Such were the daily occurrences among the Carthaginians also, and if there were any variance,

it was because those of the latter were darker and attended with greater ritual severity. But we have some facts which survived the conflagration of Carthage, to apply as direct evidence of the devout or religious proclivity of her inhabitants. Religious worship is an outward expression of the inner man; and it is, therefore, by studying these effects that we arrive at a measurement or understanding of the cause in the human mind.

As has been stated, the most talented of this nation were as superstitious almost as the tribes of nomades who hovered upon the borders of the state. Hannibal was as devoted to the religion of his country as any soldier he had under his command. The oath which he had taken when nine years old, by the direction of his father, to "show himself an enemy of the Romans," appears, from his subsequent career, to have been considered by him as a binding obligation. For almost as soon as he was clothed with the authority of command, he directed the power of his arms against the descendants of the Trojans, and devoted the best part of his life to discharging his first religious duty to the gods, and to elevate his native country, irrespective of the just impressions of conscience, to supremacy over Europe, Asia and Africa. But, whatever influence religion might have over the superstitious fancy of his

ignorant armed followers, Hannibal was himself greatly swayed by auguries, omens, and the predictions of soothsayers. He believed in the direct interposition of the gods, and their superintendence in the affairs of men. Before he set out from his encampment on his expedition against Rome, he offered sacrifices to the gods to propitiate them in his favor. His religious feelings were strong, and his devotions, without doubt, pure. His pious soul did not omit to pay proper reverence to the national divinities and do homage to their almighty power at the appropriate times.

After having taken a thorough review of the troops which he had collected for the execution of his oath, he went a great distance, to Gades (Cadiz), where he fulfilled his vows to Hercules, and, according to Roman authority, bound himself in new obligations upon the consideration that this divinity lend his power to Hannibal in his contemplated conquest of Rome.<sup>22</sup> After having put his troops in motion from New Carthage to attack the allies of the Romans, and about the time he reached the Iberus, we are told by himself that he had a wonderful dream or vision. He represented that one of the inferior deities appeared before him during his sleep, stating that he was sent on an errand by Jupiter to take him under special care, to lead him and his army into Italy, and at the same time directing

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<sup>22</sup> SPILLAN'S TRANSLATION OF LIVY, lib. 21, ch. 1.

him not to look behind. After a reaction of his courage from the first terror and alarm at the marvelous visitation, he turned his eyes to the rear and beheld an enormous serpent moving its horrid folds "after the manner of its kind," and destroying all vegetation in the circuit of its pathway. A dark cloud followed at an equal pace over the rear of its person, uttering warnings of thunder. Upon making inquiry of his guide as to the interpretation of this, he was informed by the divine youth that it foreshadowed the desolation of the territories of his enemies by the Carthaginians.<sup>23</sup> And after the battle of Cannæ, in which the Roman army was annihilated, he dispatched Mago, one of his generals, to the capital of his country, for the object of inducing the people of the whole nation of Carthage to offer thanksgivings to the gods for granting them so many signal victories over their enemies.<sup>24</sup>

Sacred ceremonies, prodigies, omens, and all the sayings and doings of superstitious minds, were as frequent in the camp of Hannibal and the dominions of Carthage, as they were at Rome. The Carthaginians were more superstitious than the nations of Europe. Many things conspired to produce this result. It has always been conceded by those who

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<sup>23</sup> SPILLAN'S TRANSLATION OF LIVY, lib. 21, ch. 1.

<sup>24</sup> "For these so great and numerous successes, it was proper that the public should be grateful, and offer thanksgiving to the immortal gods."—IBID., lib. 23, ch. 3.



have given the history of the human mind attention, that superstition always runs higher among people of southern climes than the less impressible of colder regions. But with Carthage it was more especially so; for the great superstitions of Egypt, among her other evils and vices, survived her fall, a continuing curse to her own people that remained, and the inhabitants of those nations which surrounded the narrow limits of the early settlement of Carthage. These, with their territories, were afterward subjected to Phœnician rule in this part of the world. Many of these superstitious tribes became, in the course of time, after their conquest, a very considerable portion of the inhabitants, who had grown rich through agricultural and commercial pursuits, and subsequently, by intermarriage with the descendants of the original settlers, wielded an influence over the people of the nation not much inferior to that exercised by those of pure Phœnician origin. The extreme marvelous development which Feticism ever generated in the minds of its votaries, here blended its might with that system of Polytheism which was peculiar to the races inhabiting the southwestern portions of Asia. Hence it is very naturally supposable that the minds of the Carthaginians, a few generations after this state of things had occurred, would be burdened by superstitious fear at things not readily accounted for. But as to the religious culture

of the Carthaginians we will let the authority of another testify:

“The religion of the Carthaginians, which was the same as that of the Tyrians, Phœnicians, Philistines and Canaanites, was most horrid and barbarous. Nothing of any moment was undertaken without consulting the gods, which they did by a variety of ridiculous rites and ceremonies. Hercules was the god in whom they placed most confidence; at least, he was the same to them as Mars was to the Romans; so that he was invoked before they went upon any expedition, and when they obtained a victory, sacrifices and thanksgivings were offered up to him. They had many other deities whom they worshipped; but the chief of them was Urania or the Moon, whom they addressed under different calamities, such as drought, rain, hail, thunder or any dreadful storm.

“Saturn was the other deity whom the Carthaginians principally worshipped; and he was the same with what is called Moloch in Scripture. This idol was the deity to whom they offered up human sacrifices, and to this we owe the fable of Saturn’s having devoured his own children. Princes and great men, under particular calamities, used to offer up their most beloved children to this idol. Private persons imitated the conduct of their princes, and thus in time the practice became general; nay, to such a height did they carry their infatuation, that those who had no children of their own purchased those of the poor, that they might not be deprived of the benefits of such sacrifice, which was to procure them the completion of their wishes. This horrid custom prevailed long

among the Phœnicians, the Tyrians and the Carthaginians, and from them the Israelites borrowed it, although expressly contrary to the order of God.

“The original practice was to burn these innocent children in a fiery furnace, like those in the valley of Hinnom, so often mentioned in Scripture; and sometimes they put them into a hollow brass statue of Saturn, flaming hot. To drown the cries of the unhappy victims, musicians were ordered to play on different instruments, and mothers—shocking thought—made it a sort of merit to divest themselves of natural affections while they beheld the barbarous spectacle. If it happened that a tear dropped from the eyes of the mother, then the sacrifice was considered of no effect, and the parent who had that remaining spark of tenderness was considered as an enemy to the public religion. In later times they contented themselves with making their children walk between two slow fires to the statue of the idol; but this was only a more slow and excruciating torture, for the innocent victims always perished. This is what in Scripture is called the making their sons and daughters pass through the fire of Moloch; and barbarous as it was, yet these very Israelites, in whose favor God had wrought so many wonders, demeaned themselves so low as to comply with it.

“It appears from Tertullian, who was himself a native of Carthage, that this inhuman practice continued to take place long after the Carthaginians had been subdued by the Romans. That celebrated father tells us, that children were sacrificed to Saturn or Moloch down to the proconsulship of Tiberius, who

hanged the sacrificing priests themselves on the trees which shaded their temple, as on so many crosses raised to expiate their crimes, of which the soldiers were witnesses who assisted at those executions.

“Diodorus relates an instance of this more than savage barbarity, which is sufficient to fill every mind with horror. He tells us that when Agathocles was going to besiege Carthage, the people, seeing the extremity to which they were reduced, imputed all their misfortunes to the anger of their god, he had been fraudulently sacrificed to with the children of slaves and foreigners. That a sufficient atonement should be made for this crime, as the infatuated people considered it, two hundred children of the best families in Carthage were sacrificed, and no less than three hundred of the citizens voluntarily sacrificed themselves—that is, they went into the fire without compulsion. Such was the religion of the ancient Carthaginians.”<sup>25</sup>

And what were the advantages of the people in this land of religious cruelties? Her dominions for miles surrounding the city were situated in the most fertile portion of the globe. Lying about fourteen degrees north of the tropic of Cancer, it was in a beautiful and salubrious region. The land throughout this entire portion of the country had been embellished by the erection of dwellings of the most costly workmanship. The gardens and grounds surrounding them, were laid out with equal magnificence, and in them

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<sup>25</sup> WILLIAM BERDU'S HISTORY OF ALL RELIGIONS, pages 510-11.



flourished the handsomest flowers, and the most delicious fruits of either clime, in great luxuriance, rendering the whole panorama of this part of northern Africa a delightful and enchanting paradise to the beholder.<sup>25</sup> Inheriting from their ancestors strong feelings for the acquisition of gold, they were second to no other people in enterprise. The earliest settlers of Carthage had been born and bred in the parlors of Tyrian wealth, and, therefore, had the double advantage of usage to opulence and the habitude necessary in the accumulation of riches, they were thus elevated, in commercial sagacity and blandishments of address, above the surrounding nations. Not far distant from Egypt, and in easy communication with Greece, she could have possessed herself of every art known in the former, and drawn rigid culture from the latter. At the birth of our Saviour, the literature and the political organization of this famous republic slumbered in a common oblivion, no written work in its entirety long surviving her fall.

Shortly after her beginning as an independent power, the greed which this people had for gain, rapidly extended its commerce over all seas then known to the world; its ships and merchants supplying all nations with whatever they were in want.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> ROLLIN'S ANCIENT HISTORY, vol. 1, page 121 and note 5.

<sup>27</sup> Mommsen says of the commerce of the Carthaginians, that, "At an incredibly short period we find them in Cyprus and Egypt, in Greece and



Hence not many years after the founding of the city, this nascent republic was rich by its mercantile speculations, and its capital city grown to a port of great commercial importance. When she had reached this degree of strength, she began her conquests of the surrounding tribes or petty nations of north Africa. With the increase of gain there was, in the disposition of her people, a corresponding growth of cupidity, and after a time the inhabitants came to dislike the slow process of acquirement by trade, and desired the more efficient assistance of armed power to wrest treasures from those states, which, in all probability, she would be able to conquer. A passion for wealth, partly derived by hereditament, and afterward increased by culture from youth to old age, in the inhabitants, became one of the greatest evils which afflicted the republic, and was the principal contributory cause first of extinguishing the freedom of her inhabitants, and second that of her independence. Her wars, which partook more of the appearance

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Sicily, in Africa and Spain, and even on the Atlantic ocean and the North sea. The field of their commerce reached from Sierra Leone and Cornwall in the west eastward to the coast of Malabar. Through their hands passed the gold and pearls of the east, the purple of Tyre, aloes, ivory, lions' and panthers' skins from the interior of Africa, frankincense from Arabia, the linen of Egypt, the pottery and fine wines of Greece, the copper of Cyprus, the silver of Spain, tin from England, and iron from Elba. The Phœnician " (Carthaginian) "mariners supplied every nation with whatever it needed or was likely to purchase; and they roamed everywhere, yet always returned to the narrow home to which their affections clung."—HISTORY OF ROME, vol. 2, page 10.

and reality of wholesale robberies than of measures of self defense, rendered her rising power an object of danger and dread to existing states, and drew upon the nation the enmity of all mankind.

Murder and afterward the plunder of dead men's effects had become the chief occupation of the Carthaginians from the rise of their commercial prosperity to the dismantlement of the city. Although the reduction of independent states to tributary payment had been the practical rule of warriors, this did not appear to be an adequate satisfaction to the Carthaginians. This nation made it an invariable rule to sack and plunder, taking all valuables that a state, with which she was in hostility, was in possession, and then forcing a revenue from the vanquished by direct taxation. This filled her exchequer, from which the highest officers of government enriched themselves by fraud upon the public. By this venality of appropriating public funds to individual uses, it having, on many occasions during the first and second Punic wars, well nigh drained the treasury, the republic was thereby disarmed and rendered an easy subject of conquest by any soldier of fortune. Hannibal, after the conclusion of the second Punic war, attempted to correct these abuses.<sup>28</sup> Although he, by his great ability, had almost raised his native country to a

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<sup>28</sup> ROLLIN'S ANCIENT HISTORY, vol. 1, page 115.

situation of supremacy by the prostration of Rome, he was nevertheless, at his attempt at a restoration of the government to a moral administration, and to the original powers of the people, driven into exile by the public voice of the nation. So that the majority of the inhabitants were so corrupt that they would not sustain an effort of virtue to bring back the republic to an administration of justice. It is in vain to plead in extenuation of the good disposition of the multitude, that they were ignorant, for, as an entire nation, they were the most intelligent people of antiquity.

Their government, in its organization, was the most efficient and protective of its kind. But the multitude had become so corrupted, that those principles which established the form had no operative effect. Its polity was so constituted in its first establishment, and continued to its overthrow at the end of the third Punic war, that candidates for official stations had to depend wholly upon their wealth, character, or merits, and popularity with the public. It was therefore, in its formation, a republic in which sovereignty resided wholly with the masses. But we are informed by Aristotle that after Carthage had arrived at a degree of considerable military strength, it was not considered improper for politicians to buy up the suffrages of the population. If this be true, as is also declared by others, the credibility of which has never been called

in question, it shows that the multitude were as corrupt as their leaders. This system of bribery had become so interwoven with the institutions of the state and its political machinery, that it was done publicly, and considered not an evil, but a right which every one had to dispose of his ballot, or bestow his influence, upon him who paid the highest reward. Those rights of a free people which gave them a voice in making the laws by which they are governed, as a protection to themselves against the encroachments of the unprincipled, were turned, the same as everything else with the Carthaginians, to a calculation of dollars and cents, and like stocks or merchandise thrown upon the market to the highest bidder who at the time might be in need of the proffered article. This exhibits a moral debasement in political elections nowhere to be found in other nations of ancient times. This was as true of the people as of the office-holders. It is therefore conclusive that at the time Carthage began her wars of aggression, robbery and conquest, the accumulation of riches and great devotion to religion were the only great influences which affected the people, virtue being by the abnormal nature of their minds something of a foreign element. Those moral principles, the only repository of free constituted governments, disappeared all of one hundred years before the excision of the city; the republic



was fallen, although its political formation was not destroyed.

The Carthaginians lived under a greater despotism than the subjects of any monarchy that then existed. It is weakness to argue about political oppression, when we are in a worse bondage to the inferior parts of our own being—the moral made subordinate to the animal, the noblest to subserve the purposes of the meanest.

But we return to the testimony of facts, and enquire what were the morals of this nation, so thoroughly cultivated in their religious feelings. The acts of the ablest and most prominent men of the state ought to be an impartial representation of the moral qualities of the inferior orders as well as of their own. For the geniuses of a nation, without much labor of their understanding, come early to regard the practice of evil as a downward career to all its votaries, although they are themselves not infrequently swept along with the popular tide of public sentiment. And since Hannibal was the ablest warrior of this republic, and was also, like the rest of his class, subdued by his own ambition for military glory and political power, his acts, the external indices of his character, as also those of his peers, will give us a fair understanding of the condition of those causes in his mind which were productive, in their nature, of virtue, flattering



man with his divine original and the immortality of his soul.

After the taking of Saguntum he murdered nearly all the males, because, by their obstinate resistance, they had delayed him in the siege of the town.<sup>29</sup> In his wars against Rome and the nationalities of Spain, he exhibited the same disposition of cruelty that he did against the Saguntines; and this was such a predominant trait of his character, that it came to be regarded as an incontrovertible fact by all candid minds among men of letters.<sup>30</sup> In the surrender of Victumvæ to his authority after the battle, it was an understanding between the contracting parties that the persons of civilians should be inviolable. When they had surrendered the town to him, and given up their arms at his demand, he gave the city up to the plunder of his soldiers. He licensed them to commit all kinds of brutal acts, rape, torture, and finally butchered nearly all the defenseless inhabitants.<sup>31</sup>

In the sixth year of the second Punic war, Darius Atilius betrayed the city of Arpi to the Carthaginians, when it had been in alliance with Rome and was considered a part of the dominions of the state. At the time it surrendered to the Carthaginians the latter had

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<sup>29</sup> SPILLAN'S TRANSLATION OF LIVY, lib. 21, ch. 1.

<sup>30</sup> *IBID.*

<sup>31</sup> *IBID.*, lib. 21, ch. 1, 27.

been victorious in every campaign; but when power changed masters he attempted, for a certain sum of gold, to betray it back to its lawful sovereigns. His person was placed in irons by the Roman consul. After this came to the knowledge of Hannibal, he sought out the wife and children of Atilius, took their gold and silver, and then, to glut his revenge upon the husband, upon the father, for his treachery, burned them alive.<sup>32</sup>

When, toward the conclusion of the war, the fair territories of Carthage were being made desolate by the arms of Rome, Hannibal was called to Africa to defend his native country. At the eve of his departure, the Italians in his service refused to go and engage in the African war. They had previously become disaffected to the Romans, and had given him signal proof of their desire for his prosperity and that of his country. Immediately after their refusal they were all put to the sword.<sup>33</sup> These are but a few of his acts, which exhibit the thuggish nature of his character. Nor can any one acquainted with the history of the ancient world allege this was a system which was common to other states than Carthage and Israel, prior to the time of Hannibal.

We have seen that the people who first founded the

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<sup>32</sup> SPILLAN'S TRANSLATION OF LIVY, lib. 24, ch. 45.

<sup>33</sup> Consult MOMMSEN'S HISTORY OF ROME, vol. 2, page 220.

city and the government of Carthage, received defective hereditary qualities from their ancestors. When we contemplate the regularity of the natural laws in their operations, and with what postivity defective consequences follow in exact proportion, it becomes a question of great moment to a people who, among their number, shall make the constitutional laws by which they are to be governed. If the religious, the selfish and the animal faculties, be raised to comparative supremacy over the moral, the last are rendered nugatory in practical activity. Hence a legislature, composed of persons whose moral faculties have fallen before the selfish and the animal, cannot enact laws which correspond to the needs and requirements of the nation. And so it was with the Carthaginians, for although all persons were elected to official stations by the voice of the masses, yet we find in the organization of its polity certain laws peculiarly derived from the animal and the selfish faculties of the mind, which were effects at first, but afterward became and formed a part of the several causes which finally drove the last remnant of moral feeling from the multitude of the republic. What were these defects in the state constitution, for by them we may be enabled, *a posteriori*, to arrive at the phrenic condition of their authors.

Aristotle informs us that several offices could be held by one person at the same time. One individual

cannot discharge the duties of a number of independent positions in synchroniety ; and as a consequence must farm them out to others, friends in all probability, he receiving a portion of those perquisites which properly belong to the labor of others. It is not difficult to comprehend the object of the legislators who framed this clause of the constitution. This was probably the first great step of certain parties in the government toward the establishment of a privileged aristocracy. The same author tells us also that bribery was used to influence elections, and the courts of justice were included, as a matter of course, and could not escape a contagion which would be sure to follow such a loose condition of the public morals. The wealthy classes had the power in all elections to secure the suffrages of the people, and create for themselves positions by which they could make fabulous fortunes, in comparison to which ordinary riches are but poverty. This would increase their own capacity to buy the people in succeeding elections, and diminish the prospects of those who had been less fortunate in the first campaigns. When they had secured to themselves these favors, having induced the people to believe that these public functionaries sacrificed their own interests to those of their country, if they received no salaries by which they could enrich themselves, under the pretext of expenses or some

equivalent representation, they could draw largely from the public funds.

Another error of which we are informed by this philosopher, was the method by which the constitutional provisions excluded the poorer classes, however virtuous and intellectual they might be, from the offices most important in the republic. To hold the offices of chief magistracy or those of senatorial dignity, it was made necessary for an individual to be of noble birth, to have a certain fixed annual income, and merit. The last is the only one that was at all worthy of the least consideration. As to the amount of the income, it in all probability corresponded with the rest of the act. If an individual were of noble extraction, and possessed the required income, there would be little prospect of successfully disputing his claims to the other. For, as we have seen, one's good qualities depended altogether upon the amount of money he had to advance to meet and to influence public opinion. Therefore, the third became a farce by which, at the creation of the constitution, the public were blinded to the intent and character of the whole act. Merit, the only one of the three qualifications worthy of a free people, was placed subordinate to the others, made dependent upon them as a thing of minor importance. This was a bold and rapid advance to aristocratic power. It is not, in our



opinion, troublesome to understand what was the meaning of these unworthy politicians in the framing of these laws, nor of their unfair dealings with that people of which the republic was composed.

It was only our design to hint at the nature of the constitutional laws which were drafted by the founders of Carthage. Those legal measures reflect the true elements which predominated in the character of their authors.

But what were the moral qualities of these rich republicans; for if any class in the world can afford to be humane toward their fellow men, it is they. The complexion of their conduct ought to be a true qualification and description of their character.

In their attempts at the conquest of Sicily, they, through pure revenge, tortured several thousand persons before the walls of Himera, because in the former war their forces had been defeated and their general slain in battle while trying to capture and plunder the town. After the Carthaginians had put them through the most cruel tortures their invention could suggest, they murdered every one. They bound the rest of the inhabitants in chains, carried them to Carthage, and sold them all as slaves. Families were separated never to see each other again; and, to complete the desolation of their hopes, the city, in which they had resided for many generations, was burned to the ground and

left in ruins two hundred and forty-four years after its foundation. No feelings of compassion or sorrow were manifested by the citizens after the return of the expedition, although thousands of captives were conveyed to Africa, afflicted with the most heart-rending agony. But on the contrary, the public at large entered into the joys and festivities of the army, and offered up thanks to the gods. No voice, prompted by the feelings of sympathy for the suffering, was raised, in the national halls or out of them, in condemnation of these barbarous acts. In the same expedition they took the city of Selinus, and "spared neither age nor sex." The Sicilians had, in the first war, defeated the whole force of the Carthaginians, but granted them peace at their request, preferring a relation of friendship to one of hostility. The commander of the African forces, which destroyed the two cities and butchered their inhabitants, was the grandson of that officer who was lawfully slain in the former expedition. The son of the latter pusillanimously charged his father with dishonor in the failure of the expedition, instead of dishonesty for having engaged in it.<sup>34</sup> The spirit of revenge, with all the evils which it inflicts, was the principle which controlled the affairs of the nation in this war, for whatever was

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<sup>34</sup> Consult ROLLIN'S ANCIENT HISTORY, vol. 1, paragraph 2, page 81. Also, FARR'S ANCIENT HISTORY, vol. 2, page 220, where the historian says they murdered eight thousand people.

done by the army was consented to and ratified by the whole people of the republic.

The Carthaginians had previously entered into an agreement with Xerxes, king of Persia, for the former to plunder and reduce the Greek cities on the island of Sicily, while the latter should overrun and conquer the states of Greece. This accorded well with the feelings of this part of the Phœnician race, as it presented a good opportunity to gratify the rapacity of the soldiery, the officers of the army, and, in fine, every member of the republic. These expeditions supplied their markets with slaves, in proportion to the increase of which there was a reduction in prices. Whatever by skill and industry others had acquired, agricultural products, silver and gold, men, women and their children were transported to Carthage as slaves to work upon plantations beneath the vertical rays of an African sun. If the Carthaginians did not possess the brutal greatness to conquer the world, they did the more humiliating one to rob and steal it. Had not Rome existed to curtail this military power of the south, the inhabitants of the world, except those of the north of Europe, and of Asia, with whatever they possessed, would have found their way, in all probability, into Africa, to enrich the republic, to go and come at the behests of the wealthy and the more unprincipled inhabitants of the south.

Blinded to the fact, that the moral laws, like every other, will ever claim all their rights and firmly rivet the severest penalties upon those who violate them, the Carthaginians did not discover that, during the extension of their conquests, and the increasing luster of their military glory, their prosperity was only apparent, that the republic in reality was tottering upon its foundations, and careening to its fall and overthrow.

Polybius, in dwelling by comparison upon the morals of the Romans and Carthaginians, says that "among the latter, nothing is reputed infamous that is joined with gain; but among the former, nothing is held more base than to be corrupted by gifts, or to covet an increase of wealth by means that are unjust. Forasmuch as they esteem the possession of honest riches to be fair and honorable, so much, on the other hand, all those that are amassed by unlawful arts are viewed by them with horror and reproach. Among the Carthaginians, money is openly employed to obtain the dignities of state; but all such proceedings are a capital crime at Rome. As the rewards, therefore, that are presented to virtue in the two republics are different, it cannot but happen, that the attention of the citizens to form their minds to virtuous actions must also be different."<sup>35</sup> These

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<sup>35</sup> HAMPTON'S POLYBIUS, lib. 6, page 176.

reflections of the philosophic historian are just and true. The great perfidy of the Carthaginians became a by-word with the several independent powers of the earth; and the term "Punic faith" was used by them as one of ultimate reproach to all those living amongst them, who were become unworthy of confidence, by falsehood and deception.

They held mankind in bondage, not as a penalty for having unjustly engaged in wars against them, but they made war upon the innocent and the unarmed, taking them to serve as slaves, and appropriating the goods and valuables which they possessed to their own uses. They carried on a system of slavery as a daily business for gain; and so extensively had this been conducted, that all the habitable portions of their dominions were literally covered with them. We are informed that some single individuals owned and held as high as twenty thousand of them in bondage at one and the same time.<sup>36</sup>

When the Romans were in Africa, near the end of the second Punic war, and before the recall of Hannibal, while the affairs of the Phœnicians were almost in the last extremity, the latter desired a cessation of hostilities for the purpose, as they represented, of establishing peace between the two hostile nations. Their embassy to the Romans, which secured their

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<sup>36</sup> MOMMSEN'S HISTORY OF ROME, vol. 2, page 16.



requests, was treated with every mark of respect and protection. But upon the first opportunity, while the Romans were waiting for an answer from the government in Italy to the terms proposed by the Carthaginians, the latter violated the conditions of the truce, and it was afterward discovered that they only secured it for the purpose of deceiving and entrapping an enemy which they had failed to successfully confront or conquer in the field. When the Romans dispatched an embassy to Carthage to make complaint of their violations of the terms of the armistice, while returning, the ambassadors were attacked by assassins under the direction of the government, and they owed their escape to their own prowess and personal courage. The persons of ambassadors had, by all nations, been regarded as inviolable, and this murderous assault was an act of the grossest infamy.<sup>37</sup>

During the time that Agathocles was marching upon the capital of this republic with his army, several cities having already fallen by the power of his arms, the safety of the government, by its own people, was considered in danger, and, under the circumstances, very liable to be subjected to those conditions which, for a number of centuries, it had visited upon less potent tribes and nations. Never had so great dangers threatened the independence of

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<sup>37</sup> MOMMSEN'S HISTORY OF ROME, vol. 2, page 390.

Carthage and the freedom of its inhabitants. Even at this critical juncture, the selfish ambition of one of its citizens attempted a revolution in the government before the enemy, and to establish himself in absolute power over those liberties which he hoped to destroy. But Bomilcar and his followers were checked in their advance and hedged in; the advantage of position, of numbers, and therefore of probable success being in favor of the defendants. Having gotten the better, and to protect itself from all risks, the civil authorities guaranteed Bomilcar and his forces immunity from punishment of all and every kind whatsoever, if they would lay down their arms and surrender. Bomilcar had no sooner complied with the terms of the agreement than he was nailed to the cross. Upon the gibbet he reproached and cursed them for their ingratitude, inhumanity and perfidy.<sup>38</sup>

While they were besieging the city of Agrigentum, their conduct there shows at once the great piety and the great brutality to which they were predisposed. To build up embankments, or elevations, by which they could the more easily puncture the walls of the town, and thereby make an entrance into it, they robbed the graves of the monuments standing upon them in a cemetery outside the place. After this act of despoliation, a plague spread through the army,

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<sup>38</sup> Consult FARR'S ANCIENT HISTORY, vol. 2, page 237.

sweeping off great numbers of the troops, and the officer by whom they were commanded. What little conscience remained, performed, as it ever does, its functions, and being by it condemned in consequence of the sacrilege which they had committed, they, under this condition of religious fear, supposed the gods had dispatched the souls of those who formerly had been tenants of the desecrated necropolis, to punish by pestilence, and reproach by their ghastly visages, the Carthaginians for their crimes. Spirits had been seen by the whole army, and there was no mistaking that the wrath of the gods had been aroused; they, therefore, must be appeased; and accordingly they sacrificed a child to the god Saturn, (by burning alive,) “and victims were thrown into the sea” as offerings to Neptune.<sup>39</sup> Notwithstanding the conviction which they had had before their eyes of a manifest displeasure of the gods, it had so slight an effect upon their elastic consciences, that they immediately after it committed cruelties so enormous that a moral nature cannot contemplate them without a shudder. When it was found that the city could no longer be held by the natives; that those who remained would, in all probability, after the Carthaginian custom, be butchered, it became a necessity for all to

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<sup>39</sup> ROLLIN'S ANCIENT HISTORY, vol. 1; also, FARR'S ANCIENT HISTORY, vol. 2, page 221.

make their escape at the first opportunity which presented itself. It was evident that they could not secure the departure of the aged and the infirm, for their flight must of necessity be a rapid one at night, or otherwise be exposed to an attack of the enemy's cavalry, by which the whole would be entirely immolated. After shedding many tears for those whom they must leave behind, they made their escape to a neighboring city. The Carthaginians then entered the place, and ran the sword through every helpless person, although they piteously plead for mercy.<sup>40</sup>

For one hundred years prior to the conclusion of the third Punic war, the Carthaginians had been declining in their moral character more rapidly than they had in the same length of time at any former period. For several generations the principles of rectitude had evidently been disappearing from the character of each, at an increased ratio to what it did in the preceding. In addition to avarice, other corruptions, concomitant with the Carthaginian system of accumulating wealth, had made their appearance. Perfidy, licentiousness and profligacy, to an almost indefinite degree, had seized all classes of the republic.

Yet the religious proclivities, the strong tendencies of the people to bow in holy adoration to the gods, and to believe in their miraculous interposition for the

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<sup>40</sup> FARR'S ANCIENT HISTORY, vol. 2, page 222.

evil, or for the welfare of mankind, had not lapsed from the minds of the people, nor lessened in their effects since the foundation of the city. But those moral elements which, when exercised by necessity, constitute the fortitude of the hero, the only true sagacity of the statesman, and the most estimable qualities of the human race, were almost entirely extinguished from the mentality of the nation. In their character we find a wide difference in the effect of the culture of the religious faculties, by the practice of religion on the one hand, and that of morality on the other. While the attentive reader finds in them prodigious feelings of religion, he discovers almost a complete dearth of virtue.

Thus we have seen to what degree the Carthaginians were devoted in religious worship of the gods, to their commands and injunctions. We have also shown what their moral feelings were, if they can be said to have possessed any at all. This contrast is prodigious. The depravity of this people was the approximate cause of their complete extermination. Viewing the vast wealth, the financial sagacity, the potency of this great republic, and its final ending, in all its features, it furnishes one of the most lamentable pictures which history records. The annals of this nation establish beyond a question that a culture of the religious faculties of the mind, is not, in the least



degree, efficient to prevent a people's fall into the lowest depths of criminality.

Since, however, two objections, by the Christian world, may be opposed to our method of disproving this great metaphysical error of ecclesiastical origin, by evidence drawn from nations devoted to a false or to a pagan religion, we have, therefore, thought it not only proper but necessary to entirely remove this last shelter from those who have been opposed to the progress of true Christianity, and to its influence upon mankind, by their erroneous, and in some cases unscrupulous assumptions of its tendencies. So long has this weighed on the mind, without dissent or opposition, that the claim has, for centuries, been engrafted into historical works, and in this manner given a dogmatic assurance the appearance of truth and instruction.<sup>41</sup> The foregoing chapter is as adapted, in evidence,

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<sup>41</sup> An eminent compiler of ancient history, in dwelling upon the cruelties of the Carthaginians and their superstitions, reflected the doctrine that the Christian religion, in its elements, contains the efficacy of man's moral elevation. This sufficiency has ever been the claim of the hierarchy of Rome, and it is well known that whatever nation firmly and longest adhered to her teachings, has fallen into greater vices, poverty, brutality and ignorance than any one of those nations which separated from her at and since the Reformation. But we quote: "When we read such lamentable facts in history as these," [the murder of three thousand men by the Carthaginians after their capture of Himera,] "how ought we to express our gratitude to God, the source of all good, for the right notions imparted to us in the Bible concerning the soul of man, and for that knowledge which keeps us from imbruing our hands in the blood of our fellow men; which makes us wise unto salvation, through faith which is in Christ Jesus; and which shows us how just will be their condemnation, who, knowing these things, act as did the ancient heathen, and even with more brutality."—FARR'S ANCIENT HISTORY, vol. 2, page 20.

as it would be had the people lived at a later period, under the improved tuition of our Christian masters. Christians reject all ideas of spiritual improvement arising from pagan religions, and spiritualists, mostly those which spring from modern theological principles, claiming greater spiritual development tendencies for the pagan, than for the Christian, religion. Hence the evidence of the present chapter is better adapted to the mental status of the latter, and the next to the former. We shall, therefore, in the next, present some evidence from the history of the Jewish mind.

## CHAPTER V.

### GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Error of the Christian Clergy proved from the history of Jewish mind from the birth of Abraham to the Egyptian Bondage—From the Exodus to their Dispersion—General Reflections in Retrospect—The Christian Religion not Defective, but Misapplied—Acts of the Christian Churches in America—The Moral Degeneracy of their Communicants—Increase of Depravity with the Increase of Religion, the latter indirectly, though not directly, the cause—Christianity adapted to the Development of the Religious, but not to the Development of the Moral, Feelings—Direct Culture of the Moral Sentiments being omitted in the United States, partially through the influence of the Clergy, one of the causes of the disappearance of Virtue in the People—The Religious and the Moral Feelings, being positive institutions of Nature, of different primitive qualities, require positive but different kinds of Culture—Penalties for neglect of either.

WHILE some who believe in the Christian religion are willing to acknowledge that moral and religious feelings are effects of distinct and independent causes in the mind, and, that a culture of each of these causes, under ordinary circumstances, is necessary to give them sufficient energy to work man's moral elevation, they, at the same time, hold that the promises of immortality, as couched in the Bible, and the

announcement of punitive laws as preventives of transgression of the moral code, wholly supercede all necessity of a rigid culture of the moral faculties. Others claim that man ever has been, and is at present, wholly and totally depraved—a direct negation of all fundamental moral powers in man's mental nature. This last, however, is a declaration of disbelief in our moral condition before the fall, and an averment that all things are now as they were when man was created, or at the beginning of human organization, and thus we have substantially what is called fate among the heathen nations, and foreordination with the Christian world. Under this belief of foreordination, man is wholly released from all moral obligations both to his fellow and to his God; it is a complete rejection of the thought of a revelation as well as of all moral responsibility. If man have no fundamental moral powers, as predetermination and total depravity imply, he could not comprehend a moral code, much less obey one.

The author does not care to trouble the reader by a confutation of those who claim that an individual must be at a fever heat of religious excitement to have all the advantages derivable from the moral code of the Old and the New Testament; those who are constantly exclaiming "this or that is not Christianity"! He would make the same disposition of those who call

everything natural religion, or religion, having, themselves, such a broad idea of the meaning of the word as in reality gives one no understanding of its definition. The Christian religion is not defective in itself, but in the past there has been, and there is at present, a misapplication of it to the mental powers.

There are two sources from which phenomena may arise to influence any particular portion of our phrenic nature; the one arises by an activity of the faculty from within, and directs an immediate effect upon and within that particular fundamental power, by animation, in which that activity had its origin. The other is caused by raising an emotion in that faculty by some object from without, and may be termed external influence. So that whatever there is in Christianity, be it religious, moral, or both, it can be increased by cultivating that or those faculties by which those characteristics are produced. If, therefore, the religious faculties of the mind produce moral impressions, which they must do to have the ethical influence claimed for Christianity by its devotees, there must, of necessity, be greater virtue in that nation so devout than in one which is not. Its virtues, in proportion to the religious enthusiasm of its people, ought to predominate over its vices.

What we seek to establish in this chapter is, that those two influences, internal and external, by their



combined operation, greatly increased the religious nature of the Jews. We shall afterward show, by the quality of their conduct, what their morals were, thereby proving, the one being in contrast to the other, that there can be no culture of any fundamental moral feeling by the profession and practice of religion. This system will also prove that there is not sufficient Divine power, in the ordinary conception of the term, in Christianity, to instantly reverse and protect man's moral qualities from being encroached upon and superseded by his animal—a claim which inconsiderate persons have ever put forward to the great detriment of all human progress. We shall, therefore, proceed to offer those facts of history which tend to determine the religious and the moral qualities of the Jewish nation down to the destruction of Jerusalem, presenting, as we firmly believe, a striking contrast in those two characteristics of its people.

It was in Abraham and Isaac that a blessing was pronounced to all mankind, and, more especially, that great prosperity should be the inheritance of their descendants, the Jews, in riches as well as in political power, so long as they walked with God, or adhered to the religious virtues of their illustrious progenitors. To Abraham was given the promise of mighty and powerful nations, possessing the land of Canaan, in which he, at the time, dwelt a stranger, by the sufferance

of the idolatrous hordes which surrounded him. God entered into a covenant with Abraham, in which he bound his descendants forever; the generations of Abraham were to be born within the compact, for it was ever afterward ratified by a ceremonial on the eighth day after birth, before they had arrived at any discretion regarding the matter; and they were thus bound to observe the statutes which God should, from time to time, establish among them.<sup>1</sup> Here God appeared personally to Abraham,<sup>2</sup> as he did many times afterward to other patriarchs of Israel, as his guide and director,<sup>3</sup> so ordaining, that although he and his kindred were then poor and few in numbers, they eventually came into possession of a very large tract of land called Canaan, as an everlasting dominion, and became also a very powerful nation. God sent three angels to warn Abraham and Lot of the destruction which He was about to visit upon the Sodomites for their wickedness.<sup>4</sup> God appeared to Abraham a second time, and, because he had so fully observed all the commandments, told him He would bless the blessings which he had formerly received, and that the Jews should ever afterward

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<sup>1</sup> See first book of PENTATEUCH, ch. 17.

<sup>2</sup> *IBID.*, verse 22.

<sup>3</sup> We see no reason why this passage should be regarded figuratively.

<sup>4</sup> GENESIS, ch. 18.

possess the gates of their enemies, and have an established abode.<sup>5</sup> Sodom was destroyed almost immediately after the declaration was made to Abraham and to Lot, so that they, retaining a remembrance of the prediction, and afterward the ruin which occurred to the city, were, per force, compelled to believe the evidences of their senses, and know that God, in reality, was the governor of the world; that, here in time, He had inflicted punishments upon the unjust according to their merits.

God frequently appeared also to Isaac and foretold him that great personal prosperity should be his reward; it was so amply fulfilled in his lifetime, that he became far richer and more potent than any of the Philistines.<sup>6</sup> The Almighty also appeared again to Isaac, and reaffirmed the prediction which had been made to his father with reference to the power and national prosperity of his descendants.<sup>7</sup> So that curse which was pronounced upon man at his fall was partly withdrawn from Abraham, Isaac and their descendants, the earth once more producing its hundredfold.<sup>8</sup> The herds belonging to Isaac had increased almost at an equal ratio, so that his retinue of servants became

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<sup>5</sup> GENESIS. ch. 22, verses 15-19 inclusive.

<sup>6</sup> *IBID.*, ch. 26, verses 12-15 inclusive.

<sup>7</sup> *IBID.*, ch. 26, verse 24.

<sup>8</sup> *IBID.*, ch. 26, verse 12.

remarkably great, and outshone all the rich and powerful among the Philistines; they envied his prosperity and drove him from the land. This rapid worldly prosperity did not attend the efforts of the idolatrous inhabitants of Canaan, for they were subjected, like all the rest of mankind, to constant disappointments. Hence it was not surprising that the natives of Canaan came to regard the success of Isaac as being the signal favor of Divine providence; and so it was. The natives seemed to regard Isaac's power something beside and beyond the number of his servants and his prodigious wealth. They feared this Other power, and solicited peace after they had told him to go from the land, thereby showing that the whole land of Canaan, in some remarkable manner, were inferior to Isaac in might. It was a virtual confession of their weakness when they said, "We saw certainly that the Lord was with thee; and we said, Let there be an oath betwixt us, even betwixt us and thee, and let us make a covenant with thee, that thou wilt do us no hurt as we have not touched thee, and as we have done unto thee nothing but good, and have sent thee away in peace; thou art now the blessed of the Lord."<sup>9</sup> This was as complete a confession of their weakness and of his strength as could in any manner be made. So it was not then known

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<sup>9</sup> GENESIS, ch. 26, verses 28, 29.



only to the descendants of Abraham, but to the idolatrous world also, that God attended upon the affairs of Isaac, and was the immediate source of all his greatness.

The Almighty also appeared to Jacob, and gave him to understand that He would accompany him wheresoever he went and be his preserver through life. Jacob saw God in a dream, standing above a ladder which reached from earth to heaven, the angels of the Lord ascending and descending upon it. Jacob was then told that the Divine person who stood above the ladder was the God of Abraham, of Isaac, that He would also be the God of Jacob; that his posterity should be as numerous as the dust of the earth, and should spread abroad to the west, to the east, to the north and to the south. In a word, his descendants should become a considerable part of the inhabitants of the world, and that they should be victorious in all those directions which answer to the four quarters of the globe. Nothing should be able to resist their arms. God greatly prospered the worldly affairs of the two brothers, Jacob and Esau, for we are told that "their riches were more than they might dwell together; and the land wherein they were strangers could not bear them because of their cattle."<sup>10</sup>

It seems that the farther we trace the history of the

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<sup>10</sup> GENESIS, ch. 36, verse 7.



descendants of Abraham, till we reach the time of Daniel's vision of the cleansing of the sanctuary, we find more signal and extraordinary manifestations of Providence in guiding this portion of mankind and making His marvelous power known to them. For Divine goodness continued with Joseph, whom God apparently raised up to protect the people from famine, and to instruct the heathen king of Egypt in the ways of the "only true God." The Egyptians were fetich worshipers, as were also the inhabitants of the surrounding country; their worship was offensive in the sight of God. He designed to bring a famine upon the earth, upon Egypt and that portion of the world which immediately surrounded it. A heathen king, to convince those in power, should be one of the agencies through which the greatness and supremacy of the God of Abraham, of Isaac, of Jacob and of Joseph, should be made known to the Egyptians, and assist in bringing the favored people of heaven into consideration with the greatest political government in existence. It made its appearance in the way of a dream, and partook more of the nature of substance than of shadow, of reality than of fiction. But we are told that none of the wise men of Egypt could interpret the dream of Pharaoh. Joseph, through the favor of Heaven, made known to the king the interpretation of it; it being, as is known

to every one, seven years of plenty and seven years of want. This dream was so interpreted more than seven years before the famine began, and thus there could be no skepticism regarding its divine original. In consequence of the wonderful discovery and interpretation of it by Joseph, he was made ruler over all Egypt, second in eminence and power only to Pharaoh himself. As God had saved the family of Noah from drowning during the flood, He now saves the people of Egypt and Canaan, during the severest famine which, before or since, has ever been upon any part of the earth.

Joseph was directed by Pharaoh to follow his own judgment, and that he should have the power of the crown to enforce whatever measures he thought necessary to save mankind from the impending ruin which now threatened the world. Joseph therefore proceeds upon his duty, and purchases all the grain that is to be bought in the market, against the dearth which is to come. For seven years he bought and stored the surplus products of the earth. After the seven years of plenty had ceased, the famine, in perfect accordance with the prediction of Joseph, began, and greatly distressed the inhabitants of the surrounding countries as well as those of Egypt and Canaan. But there was a refuge, a place to which all might come and purchase the support of life. Nor did God except the

idol worshipers; all heard that corn could be bought in Egypt, and all the great highways leading down to the capital of Egypt were, we have reason to believe, filled with immense caravans laden with money or its equivalent in goods to exchange for corn. But when the money of the inhabitants of those countries was exhausted, the governor of Egypt indicated to them he would take their cattle. When their money and their cattle were both expended, he took their land in exchange for provision. Everything, therefore, within the dominions of Pharaoh became the property of the crown, by the time that the seven years of scarcity had ended and the waters had inundated the valley of the Nile. Joseph then farms out the land to its original owners, upon the payment of a revenue of twenty per centum per annum to the king.

If rulers were disposed to charge such a tax upon their subjects now, all the bayonets in the world could not support them upon their thrones; their governments would be overthrown, or their dominions abandoned by their subjects. But the manner in which the whole property, personal and real, of Egypt was parted with by the inhabitants and paid for by the government, was an equitable transaction which involved the welfare of most all mankind. The revenue of twenty per centum per annum continued down to the time of Sesostris; and, in all probability, there have been

very few monarchs of ancient or of modern ages who have received such a tremendous revenue. The Pharaohs became richer than all other potentates, as Egypt was the most productive part of the world.<sup>11</sup>

But Jacob, in his old age, had a vision, when he was on his way down to Egypt to see Joseph, in which God instructed him to fear nothing, as God himself was bringing him and all his posterity into Africa, and would continue with him and his children,<sup>12</sup> finally returning them all back again to that country from which they departed; and that they should continue many ages the sole owners and rulers of Canaan. Joseph, before his death, foretold to his brethren that their descendants should, according to the promise of God to Abraham, to Isaac and to Jacob, be brought back again to own and to rule over the land of the Canaanites for many centuries. Joseph also told his brethren, after the death of Israel, that the sale which they made of him was not a matter of perfidy in them, but an act of God's to save His people from that scourge with which He designed to inflict certain idolatrous nations. And Joseph bound his brethren by oath, before he died, to take his bones with them when they returned east into their everlasting possession.

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<sup>11</sup> Consult JOSEPHUS' ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS; also GENESIS, ch. 47.

<sup>12</sup> GENESIS, ch. 46, verses 3 and 4.

Such were the miraculous interpositions of providence in behalf of the Hebrews, from the maturity of Abraham down to the death of Joseph and the bondage of the children of Israel. Can it be for a moment doubted that a people, so guided by the hand of God, would not believe all His commands? Can one suppose, with any degree of reason, that religion would be less potent when there were personal providential interventions in the affairs of man than when there were none? So long as miracles continued to be brought to the knowledge of the Hebrews, before the death of Jacob even down to that of Joseph, they kept the commandments of God. Nor were they very immoral, except the dishonesty practiced upon Esau by Jacob, through the intrigues of his mother, and the sale of Joseph by his brethren to Egyptian merchants. But these were at the special instance of God to more effectually fulfill his promises to Isaac regarding the great political power of his descendants, and more immediately to protect the Hebrews from that famine which he brought upon the idolatrous nations of Asia and Africa.

After the death of Joseph the crown of Egypt passed to the possession of a different family, which hated the Israelites, fearing that their continued multiplicity would eventually outnumber the inhabitants, and seize the government itself; they were,



therefore, impatient for their extinction. Hence the force of the Egyptians was used against them constantly, for their slavery and oppression.<sup>13</sup> It was predicted by a sacred scribe of Pharaoh that one out of the Hebrews should be born who, if he grew to maturity, would become a great and wise man, performing many extraordinary deeds, and with the prodigious numbers to which the Israelites had already increased, would be a standing danger to the realm.<sup>14</sup> An order was accordingly sent, by authority, to slay all the male children of the Israelites as soon as they should be born. But the child, the life of which it was their object to destroy, was saved by the daughter of the reigning prince, was raised and educated by the royal family, and that, too, when the scribe who had predicted his birth, told the king that he was rearing that very infant which eventually would become a terror to all the Egyptians.<sup>15</sup> In this manner God caused the enemies of the Israelites to nourish, to educate, and to adorn the mind of that very babe, in opposition to their wishes, for the destruction of which they had committed so many murders.

Moses was not much sooner grown to physical and mental maturity than God appeared to him as had

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<sup>13</sup> EXODUS, ch. 1.

<sup>14</sup> JOSEPHUS' ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS, book 2, ch. 9.

<sup>15</sup> See conclusion of the ninth chapter of JOSEPHUS' ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS, book 2.

been foretold by the Egyptian. And as to this miracle we will let the learned historian Josephus testify, as his narration of the fact corresponds to that of Moses, from which he drew his knowledge. Moses had gone with the flocks of his father-in-law to Mount Horeb for pasturage. "And here it was that a wonderful prodigy happened to Moses; for a fire fed upon a thorn bush; yet did the green leaves and the flowers continue untouched, and the fire did not at all consume the branches, although the flame was great and fierce. Moses was affrighted at this strange sight, as it was to him: but he was still more astonished when the fire uttered a voice, and called him by name, and spake words to him by which it signified to him how bold he had been in venturing to come into a place whither no man had ever come before, because the place was divine; and advised him to remove a great way from the flame, and be contented with what he had seen; and though he were himself a good man, and the offspring of great men, yet that he should not pry any farther: and He foretold to him, that he should have glory and honor among men, by the blessing of God upon him. He also commanded him to go away thence, with confidence, to Egypt, in order to his being the commander and conductor of the body of the Hebrews, and to his delivering his own people from the injuries they suffered there: 'For,' said

God, 'they shall inhabit this happy land which your forefather Abraham inhabited, and shall have the enjoyment of all sorts of good things; and thou, by thy prudence, shall guide them to those good things.' But still He enjoined him, when he had brought the Hebrews out of the land of Egypt, to come to that place, and to offer sacrifices of thanksgiving there. Such were the divine oracles which were delivered out of the fire." Moses distrusted his own abilities to execute these commands, as he feared his own people would not believe God had thus spoken to him, and if they were disposed to follow, Pharaoh would not let them go, as the Egyptians were amassing great riches from their labor.

"But," says the historian, "God persuaded him to be courageous on all occasions, and promised to be with him, and to assist him in his words, when he was to persuade men, and in his deeds when he was to perform wonders. He bid him also to take a signal of the truth of what He said, by throwing his rod upon the ground, which, when he had done, it crept along, and was become a serpent, and rolled itself round in its folds, and erected its head, as ready to revenge itself on such as should assault it, after which it became a rod again as it was before. After this, God bid Moses put his right hand into his bosom: he obeyed, and when he took it out it was white and in

color like to chalk, but afterward returned to its wonted color again. He also, upon God's command, took water that was near him, and poured it upon the ground, and saw the color was that of blood. Upon the wonder that Moses showed at these signs, God exhorted him to be of good courage, and to be assured that He would be the greatest support to him; and bid him make use of these signs in order to obtain belief among all men, that 'thou art sent by me,' and dost all things according to my commands. Accordingly, I enjoin thee to make no more delays, but to haste to Egypt, and to travel night and day, and not draw out the time; and so make the slavery of the Hebrews, and their sufferings, to draw out the longer.

"Moses having now seen and heard these wonders, that assured him of these promises of God, had no room left him to disbelieve them; he entreated Him to grant him that power when he should be in Egypt; and besought Him to vouchsafe him the knowledge of His own name, and since he had heard and seen Him, that He would also tell him His name, that when he offered sacrifices, he might invoke Him by such His name in his oblations. Whereupon God declared to him His holy name, which had never been discovered to man before; concerning which it is not lawful for me to say any more."<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> JOSEPHUS' ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS, book 2, ch. 12; also, EXODUS, ch. 3.

Having thus seen where and under what authority Moses began to effect the emancipation of the Hebrews, we shall see, first, what were the miracles which the Israelites witnessed; what reasons thereunder they had for believing in the powers of religion; and, second, what their moral condition was before the exodus, and their conduct during it to their arrival in those lands to which they were led by Moses and Joshua. We shall attempt to show, by facts, that these descendants of Abraham had greater reason and inducements to have faith and belief in religion than any other people that have ever lived, and that they, notwithstanding this, fell to the commission of more than brutal crimes, and also were sunken in vices to an equal magnitude. Those signs and miracles wrought by Almighty power came within range of the sensuous faculties of their minds, and thereby save them positively relative knowledge of a direct administration from above upon the affairs of men below.

After Moses had arrived in Egypt and related the authority which he had to lead them out of bondage, they believed him to be an impostor, whose marvellous statements, if followed, would expose them to destruction, by arousing the whole united power of the Egyptians against them. They refused to give the least weight to his allegations.<sup>17</sup> When Moses could

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<sup>17</sup> EXODUS, ch. 6, verse 9.



not prevail upon the Israelites to depart, God instructed him and Aaron to go in before Pharaoh and demand of him the manumission of Israel and the right of their departure.<sup>18</sup> But when Moses distrusted his capacity to influence the king, God told him he was much superior to Pharaoh;<sup>19</sup> more than this, that he should be a god to Pharaoh, and that Aaron should be his prophet, in a word giving power to dispose of Pharaoh and the kingdom if he chose.<sup>20</sup> After miracles were performed before the king, he still refused to let them go, and Moses and Aaron were directed to smite the river of the Nile and the waters throughout the land, which, after the compliance, became blood through all the country, so there were none to drink;<sup>21</sup> all living creatures in the waters died, and from these two causes they became a stench and pestilence to all in Egypt.<sup>22</sup> All streams, ponds, springs, wells, and whatever water there was stored up in vessels, became blood.<sup>23</sup> A miracle so universal in a country as to prevail all over it, must have come to the knowledge of the Hebrews, and the causes made known to their understandings. In this there

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<sup>18</sup> EXODUS, ch. 6, verses 10 and 11.

<sup>19</sup> *IBID.*, ch. 7, verse 1.

<sup>20</sup> *IBID.* .

<sup>21</sup> *IBID.*, ch. 7, verse 20.

<sup>22</sup> *IBID.*, verse 21.

<sup>23</sup> *IBID.*, verses 19 and 20; also JOSEPHUS' *ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS*, book 2, ch. 14.

could be no deception; they did not have to rely upon the testimony of Moses and Aaron, but it became absolute knowledge to those faculties of the mind which take cognizance of the secondary qualities of matter. The Lord brought frogs up out of all the waters, and they died, so that every house in the nation was filled with disagreeable odors from their decaying carcasses.<sup>24</sup> He caused the dust of the land to become lice, so as to cover man and beast.<sup>25</sup> God also afflicted the land with a plague of flies;<sup>26</sup> but there were none of all these things in the houses or on the persons of the Israelites. Next spread the disease of the murrain, so that it affected every beast in all Egypt; He sent a pestilence of boils upon man and beast, not excepting Pharaoh and his magicians; and one of hail mingled with fire, which destroyed every green thing.<sup>27</sup> The Lord smote the land with locusts and darkness.<sup>28</sup> And, finally, to finish up the last warning to the Egyptians, and to teach them the power of the true God—that he stood by the oppressed and against the oppressor—the first-born of this nation, from him who should succeed

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<sup>24</sup> EXODUS, ch. 8, verses 1-6; also JOSEPHUS' ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS, book 2, ch. 14, sec. 2.

<sup>25</sup> EXODUS, ch. 8, verse 17; also JOSEPHUS' ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS, book 2, ch. 14, sec. 3.

<sup>26</sup> EXODUS, ch. 8, verse 24; ch. 9, verses 1-3.

<sup>27</sup> IBID., ch. 9, verses 1-7.

<sup>28</sup> IBID., ch. 10.

Pharaoh upon his throne, to the eldest child of the lowest family, were smitten with death. Every family in this flourishing kingdom was lamenting its own dead. But none of these plagues afflicted Israel.

So far as a detailed history of the Israelites is concerned, during their bondage, which took place after the death of Joseph, it is such a blank in Genesis that little conjecture can be made as to the influence of external objects upon their minds, or as to the positive effect which their various mental faculties, religious and moral, had either to exhalt or to depress the relations which they maintained toward God and to the Egyptians. But before they moved into Egypt, it is known that they led the lives of shepherds, in extended and unpopulated plains, and meeting with that corruption which is ever prevalent in crowded cities but seldom, there was very little in opposition to their chosen occupation, by way of competition, to stimulate the animal and selfish faculties of the mind. They were, therefore, more acted upon by the nobler parts of their own nature than by the selfishness, hypocrisy and turpitude of the external world. And such were the facts, for when they entered into the land of Egypt they were pure in morals, and reposed entire faith and confidence in the promises and rectitude of Almighty God.

Their minds had been subjected to but few baleful influences from without, hence their moral and religious elements strengthened as they grew older, giving these two qualities complete control over the inferior portions of their nature. But after the commencement of that rigorous bondage to which they were subjected, they came in contact with those baser qualities which are the offspring of cold and selfish natures, predominant in all political organizations, as symptoms of that decay which ever mark the last days of their existence. It was here, under task masters, fresh from the elegant and refined society of the Egyptians, and from their holy orisons to the national gods, that the Israelitish character was first imbruted by imitating and absorbing the popular notions of a degenerate age. The surrounding influences were those which had already first corrupted and then destroyed all good qualities from the minds of the native inhabitants, it now began, as it were, the decomposition of the same elements in the minds of the Hebrews. When we come to calculate the vast influence which external objects, be they evil, have to extinguish moral principles in a single generation, we shall be, by force of reason, compelled to acknowledge the hopelessness of any people so conditioned for four hundred, or even two hundred, years. In fact, should they issue with any elements

of justice or of benevolence remaining, it would be a greater miracle than any which are related by the patriarchial writers of the Jews. The lower the condition of servitude the worse it is both for the master and the slave. The predominant selfish characteristics of the two are reciprocal; and, as must be the case, the moral status of the master being lower than that of the slave, there is a compilation of evil causes which, taken together, complete the ruin of both. To such a degree of skepticism, by their oppressions and associations, had the Hebrews been reduced, that they, with all their traditional remembrance of the prosperity of Abraham, of Isaac, of Jacob and of Joseph, believed those representations made by Moses and Aaron to emanate from the same source of the mind which held them in bondage. They looked upon all mankind as wholly destitute of good intentions, and that God had abandoned His government of the world, if they did not regard all statements of Divine revelation to their first progenitors as impositions practiced upon them by their more immediate ancestors.

Such was the mental condition of the Hebrews when Moses undertook, by the direction of God, to lead them out of Egypt into the land of Canaan and the countries which surrounded it. As Moses indicated, when receiving commands upon Mount Sinai



from authority above, it was, without Divine power, a hopeless task. But as we have seen, that power was so given that all the incredulity of the Israelites was overcome, and under it they began their pilgrimage in defiance and in opposition to the whole forces of Egypt. But the miracles of the plagues were sufficient to drive from being the last relict of infidelity which could possibly inflict any race of mankind.

It required a vast amount of marvelous signs to induce the Jews to undertake the expedition, and notwithstanding that these were sufficient for that purpose, they nevertheless relapsed into a pantheistic condition of thought when they arrived at the coast of the Red sea, Pharaoh being in the rear,<sup>29</sup> although the wonderful phenomena which they had witnessed had not ceased, for they were led by a pillar of fire by night, and one of cloud by day, for their instruction as to the course they should pursue in making their escape. It was also to show them that they were visibly conducted by the power of Heaven. And when Pharaoh arrived with his hosts in their rear, these pillars changed from the front to the rear, thus obscuring the Hebrews from the sight of the Egyptians.<sup>30</sup> Yet they, when surrounded by the sea and

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<sup>29</sup> EXODUS, ch. 14, verses 10-13; JOSEPHUS' ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS book 2, ch. 15, where it would appear that he drew from facts which are not in our version of the Bible.

<sup>30</sup> IBID., chap. 14, verses 19, 20.

their enemies, clamored against their leader, and his life was in danger. Were there no graves in Egypt, that thou hast taken us to die in the wilderness? is the language with which they reproached Moses.<sup>31</sup> But Moses exhorted them to remain quiet, and that they should witness the salvation of God, "for the Egyptians whom ye have seen to-day, ye shall see them no more again forever." The Lord then parted the waters of the sea, and the Israelites entered into the sea upon the bottom and crossed over. When they were pursued by their masters, the Lord caused the latter to be overwhelmed in the sea, and they were there drowned in sight of the Hebrews.<sup>32</sup> When they had thus gotten clear of the shackles by which they were formerly held in cruel slavery, they found means to complain, for the water which they had taken to drink was not palatable. But Moses, through that power which always stood by him and them, changed it to a delectable taste.<sup>33</sup> And, as though their quarrelsome nature had no bounds from gratitude, they complained to Moses that he had brought them into strange lands to die of hunger, when they, in Egypt,

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<sup>31</sup> However much this passage may appear to the minds of skeptics to militate against the existence of the miracles wrought in Egypt, it is a thing with which the author has nothing to do. He addresses, in this chapter, believing Christians.

<sup>32</sup> EXODUS, ch. 14, *passim*; JOSEPHUS' ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS, book 2, ch. 16.

<sup>33</sup> EXODUS, ch. 15, verse 25.

were accustomed to sit by the flesh-pots and "eat bread to the full."<sup>34</sup> Moses made known the complaints of the people, and to satisfy their wants God rained food from heaven.<sup>35</sup> After they had passed through the wilderness of Sin they again became destitute of water, upon which Moses smote a rock with his rod, and water poured out in great abundance.<sup>36</sup> To strengthen their faith, if there were further possibility of a lurking doubt, God told Moses that He would appear in person to the people upon Mount Sinai; all of which they witnessed with great terror.<sup>37</sup> Just before this last marvelous exhibition of Almighty power, it was that the decalogue was given to the Jews, and God instructed Moses to say to the multitude, "Ye have seen that I" [God] "have talked with you from heaven," that they might have no apparent grounds for doubting the reputed authenticity of the commandments, the first of which says, "Thou shalt have no other gods before me."<sup>38</sup> But in the absence of Moses, immediately after the rendition of the decalogue and the personal appearance of the Most High to the absolute knowledge of the Israelites, they rebelled against the first of their laws—they caused

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<sup>34</sup> **EXODUS**, ch. 16, verses 1-3 inclusive.

<sup>35</sup> **IBID.**, verses 13-36 inclusive.

<sup>36</sup> **IBID.**, ch. 17, verses 5, and 6.

<sup>37</sup> **IBID.**, chap. 19 and 20, *passim*.

<sup>38</sup> **IBID.**, ch. 20.

Aaron to make an image of a calf, which they set up as a god and worshiped it.<sup>39</sup> The people, in the presence of Moses, were charged, without their dissent, of possessing unruly passions;<sup>40</sup> that they had sinned a great sin;<sup>41</sup> and for their evil conduct the Lord visited plagues upon them.<sup>42</sup> During their journeyings through the wilderness, the places in which they were to pitch their tents were indicated to them by a cloud in daylight, and by fire, or its appearance, at night.<sup>43</sup> The scarcity of water, and immediately afterward its abundance, caused a second time by the rod of Moses, gave evidence to the masses that the presence and power of Jehovah were still in their midst.<sup>44</sup> Some of the chiefs rebelled against heaven, to possess themselves of the priesthood of Aaron. Fire was sent down from above and consumed burnt offerings in sight of the multitude, upon altars erected by them for that purpose. Yet the sons of Aaron mocked the religious ceremonies instituted by the Most High, returning by derision to their idolatrous worship of former days, and were consumed by the flames which they had made and used in contempt of

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<sup>39</sup> EXODUS, ch. 32, verses 1-6

<sup>40</sup> IBID., ch. 32, verse 22.

<sup>41</sup> IBID., verse 31.

<sup>42</sup> IBID., verse 35.

<sup>43</sup> NUMBERS, ch. 9, verse 15-18.

<sup>44</sup> IBID., ch. 20, verse 11.

religion.<sup>45</sup> Yet, notwithstanding these visible punishments upon the wicked, they relapsed into rebellion against the authority of God, because a part of those who had been sent to spy out the land of Canaan reported falsehoods about the great stature of its inhabitants.<sup>46</sup> They reproached God, saying, "Wherefore hath the Lord brought us unto this land, to fall by the sword, that our wives and our children should be a prey? Were it not better for us to return into Egypt."<sup>47</sup> The whole multitude were preparing to stone Moses and Aaron to death, but the glorious presence of the Lord in the tabernacle restrained them.<sup>48</sup>

The conduct of the masses, with three or four exceptions, being most wretched and hypocritical, God threatened to exterminate the whole multitude, except Moses, Aaron, Caleb and those under twenty years of age. Their selfishness again opposed the authority of Omnipotence, and the earth and fire consumed them to the number of two hundred and fifty.<sup>49</sup> Thereupon the anger of the people became violent at this act of God, and fourteen thousand and seven hundred were,

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45 JOSEPHUS' ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS, book 3, ch. 8, sec. 7; also LEVITICUS, ch. 10, verses 1-3.

46 NUMBERS, chap. 13, verse 33

47 IBID., ch. 14, verse 3.

48 IBID., verse 10.

49 IBID., ch. 14 and 16.



in consequence, destroyed by the flames which God sent to punish them and to curb their violent passions.<sup>50</sup> The Lord sent a plague of fiery serpents among the people, which bit them, causing the death of many.<sup>51</sup>

The above are a few of those manifestations of God's marvelous power, which it has been the good fortune and glory of but a small portion of mankind to behold. The reader may think that these recitations are an intrusion upon his time, but it must be borne in memory that they formed the true history of the Jewish mind from the commencement of the exode to their arrival in the promised land. They show what were the predominant characteristics of the nation during the time in which they took place. The only true moral and religious condition of a people can be determined by their outward acts, the latter being effects of the controlling elements of the mind, to which they are in exact proportion. The author of the Pentateuch is almost silent as to whether the Jews held any communications, and if they did, what their conduct was toward those tribes which inhabited the territories through which they passed, leaving us in a labyrinth respecting the outward expression of the predominant qualities of the former toward the latter.

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<sup>50</sup> *IBID.*, ch. 16, verses 47-49 inclusive

<sup>51</sup> *IBID.*, ch. 21, verse 6.

We are, therefore, partly deprived of the evidence by which to estimate their morals during the time of their escape from bondage. We are also, for the same reason, not able to ascertain what influence the customs and qualities of these idolatrous foreigners had upon the inner nature of the Jews to mold a modification in their mental condition. But on the question of religion, we are most amply provided, as it has been made obvious, to exhibit a culture of piety nowhere to be found among the inhabitants of any other nation of mankind. And we shall hereafter discover that Divine Providence continued with them down to the destruction of their holy house in the reign of Vespasian. But we have already found that they were rebellious, immoral and wicked to Moses, Aaron and Him, who extricated them from an abject condition of slavery which almost crushed their lives by its severity. Had there been any moral properties in the religious faculties, or any moral principles evolved by action of the spiritual feelings, which tended to modify their harsher nature, it should have produced its effect in unbounded gratitude to God, and obedience to His commands. There certainly were no opportunities for skeptical doubts, as they witnessed the most astonishing miracles, and those, too, the most numerous and frequent, which have been experienced by the human mind. The protoplast was preceded and

followed by such supernatural evidence of its divine original as to expunge the cold and uneasy feelings of Pantheism from the most dogged infidel. If there were any of those divine influences in the religion of this people, which have been ascribed to it by Christians, by changing or so re-creating the dispositions of the minds of its devotees, or converting one from vice to virtue, we should have met some evidence of it in the Jewish nation during the exode. But no such conclusion can be drawn from their history. On the contrary, it most clearly establishes that this theological dogma is without foundation. It is an assumption which injures Christianity and retards the progress of the better portions of man's higher nature. This class may still adhere to the belief that the later developments of Jewish theology, and the modifications wrought in succeeding ages by Divine Providence, have produced such changes as include within their scope those principles which, without them, are more immediate consequences of the primitive moral powers. We shall soon see what there is in this "change of heart" to recommend it to our consideration, as well as to expose other erroneous assumptions which come to us from the middle ages, tinctured with their errors, and somewhat modified by the reformation. It will also appear that a culture of the religious produces none to the moral elements of the mind; that

religion and morality are effects of distinct and independent causes; that the neglect to educate the moral, and bestowing the whole attention upon the religious, were the immediate causes of the overthrow of the Jewish nation, of the frequent conquests to which it was subjected, and of the final dispersion of its people.

We have traced the principal events, or those, rather, which we wished to present, without suppressing any facts that related to those truths which we had sought to discover, from the beginning of their pilgrimage in Egypt to their arrival in the country of the Canaanites. We shall follow the history of their religious and moral condition down to the time of their dispersion.

The Hebrews had no sooner effected their settlements, than they began to exhibit qualities which characterize only the immoral status of savages. When there were no people upon whom they could, with any reasonable pretexts, make war, they began to destroy each other. Sometimes their inordinate lusts were the causes of exterminating conflicts, at others, love of gain, and their restlessness under all governmental regulations. The evil passions of this people could not be kept within the limits of reason, unless they were ground down in a servile condition; for in disposition of evil they had had no superiors in the ancient or the modern ages of the world.

The amount of rapes, robberies and murders which these twelve tribes committed, from their establishment in Asia Minor till the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus Vespasian, will excel the same in any other nation which has existed for an equal period. The crimes of the Jews would be wholly incredible if reported by the historians of any other nation; but since it is the narrated confession of their own darkening deeds, it cannot by them be called in question.

The first war which broke out among the twelve tribes, was caused by the commission of a rape upon the person of the wife of a certain Levite, while he was passing from the house of his father-in-law to the place of his own residence. At the invitation of a resident of Gibeah, the Levite took up lodgings with him, supposing, but without sufficient reason, considering the moral condition of the Jews, that he and his family were safe, as they were among their distant relatives. But not long after his entrance into the abode of this hospitable stranger, the house was surrounded by men who demanded the wife of the Levite, in violation of the laws of the twelve tribes, which was given them through Moses from above. The host of the house interceded in behalf of his guests, but could not dissuade the rabble from their purpose. They had intended to murder the Levite, if it were necessary to effect their end. His wife was removed by them, and



subjected to the most brutal outrages, after which, in the morning, she was allowed to return to her husband, but immediately afterward expired from the effects of her treatment. Those who committed the double deed were of the tribe of Benjamin, and inhabited the city of Gibeah.

When this act of brutality became known to the other tribes of the Israelites, they determined to punish the criminals according to those laws by which they were all governed. They, therefore, made a demand upon the Benjamites for the possession of the criminals, and attempted their arrest, but found that the whole citizens of Gibeah defended them, and thus made the crime of others their own, even taking up arms to protect the guilty parties. This issue brought on a fierce war which nearly exterminated the tribe of the Benjamites, leaving only six hundred alive. In the two first battles which were fought, forty thousand of the assailants were slain; but on joining battle the third time, those engaged on the part of the Benjamites were all killed but those excepted.<sup>52</sup> After the victory over the army of Benjamin, the Israelites murdered all the women and children, not saving one alive in the city, so all who were left were the combatants

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<sup>52</sup> Consult by comparison, JUDGES, ch. 19 and 20, with JOSEPHUS' *ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS*, book 5, ch. 2.

who made their escape.<sup>53</sup> They burnt the city to the ground, and, not satisfied with thus far having committed a slaughter of the innocents to punish the guilty, they passed from the double reality of executive justice to pure cruelty itself. Not sufficiently gorged with the blood of the innocent victims of Gibeah, they proceeded to wreak the same vengeance upon all the other cities of the Benjamites, and, after murdering the inhabitants, burnt the cities to the ground. They "spared neither age nor sex," but put all to the sword, old people and young infants, those who implored their mercy as well as those who defied their strength, all from the cradle to the brink of the grave, irrespective of condition, were wiped out of existence.<sup>54</sup> Then, after reflection, they began to be affected, not for the brutalities which they had committed, but under the action of fear their intellectual faculties began to practice arithmetic, to calculate their numerical strength, and they discovered that they had destroyed one-twelfth of their military power. They saw that they had wrought a great work in favor of their old and inveterate enemies, the Canaanites, and should they rely upon their own earthly efforts, another success of the same

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53 JOSEPHUS' ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS, book 5, ch. 2.

54 JUDGES, ch. 20, and last passage cited in JOSEPHUS' ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

nature would render their position in the land of the heathen wholly untenable.<sup>55</sup> Then, and not till then, were they stricken with mortification. We are told they wept.<sup>56</sup>

But there were, notwithstanding, six hundred of the tribe of Benjamin left, and, to restore that military strength to themselves, as a means of self protection, which they had lost by this horrible excision, they determined to expunge all the males of another people, seize upon their unmarried women for wives to the Benjamite remnant. It is not difficult for those who are committed to the profession of slaughter, to discover pretexts for hostilities, and, accordingly, the city of Jabesh-gilead was selected as the next victim. An army of twelve thousand of their most savage fighting men were dispatched, with instructions to spare none but the maidens. All the inhabitants, save the four hundred maidens, perished at their hearthstones. It will readily present itself to the understanding of the intelligent reader, the direction which the Jewish mind had, in some previous age, gradually taken, and to what mental faculties the whole Hebrew nation was now being subjected in control.

Phineas, the high priest, and Hophni, committed robberies upon the people, who came up to the temple

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<sup>55</sup> JUDGES, ch. 21, verse 3.

<sup>56</sup> *IBID.*, verse 2.

of the people to worship. They were guilty of the commission of other crimes, and finally, their course of life being attended with such depravity, they involved the Hebrews in a war with the surrounding idolatrous nations,<sup>57</sup> by which they were partly deprived of their liberty.<sup>58</sup> By the miraculous powers of God, the Philistines were affrighted and defeated, and the Jews restored to their former condition of independence.<sup>59</sup> But the contagious elements of corruption were permeating all classes of the race, and the principles of honor, of probity, and of equity, by degrees come gradually to be regarded, by persons of official stations, as a very harmless and proper means by which to effect a deception of the just, and thus make them subsidiary to the accumulation of riches. The sons of Samuel took bribes while they were judges of Israel, and rendered their judgments accordingly.<sup>60</sup> The whole people used the venality of Samuel's successors as pretexts to draw into their own midst the evil of the surrounding nations, and rejected the government of the Most High. The element of imitation in the human mind is both pleasurable and beneficial when directed

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<sup>57</sup> I SAMUEL, ch. 2, verses 22-25 inclusive, and ch. 6, passim: also compare JOSEPHUS' ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS, book 5, ch. 10 and 11.

<sup>58</sup> JOSEPHUS' ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS, book 6, ch. 2, and I SAMUEL, ch. 5 and 6.

<sup>59</sup> I SAMUEL, ch. 7, verse 10. Compare JOSEPHUS' ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS, book 6, ch. 2.

<sup>60</sup> I SAMUEL, ch. 8, verses 1-6: God's directions to Samuel.

to ennobling objects, but is more than demoralizing when used in the appropriation of those manners which are the production of vicious principles. They desired a form of government, fashionable with the people of the east, notwithstanding the demoralizing influence which it had on the morals of mankind. Samuel informed them of the oppressions they would be subjected to in the event that a king were to reign over them. But they preferred bondage to freedom, if rectitude were a dependence of the latter. As the conditions of an absolute government were founded in injustice, it was but fair to presume that the monarch would wink at the vices of the multitude. By the inauguration of the monarchy, we find that they had added new troubles to old difficulties. For immediately subsequent to the anointment of Saul as king, the multitude exhibited a disposition, and urged the propriety, of slaying all of that party who were opposed to the government of a kingdom; and were only repressed by the greater humanity of the sovereign.<sup>61</sup> Thus they rejected the sovereignty of God, although He had led them from a lowly and enslaved condition into one of prosperous independence.

Among them vice and wickedness increased with their prosperity. We do not understand that there was any difference between this people in these respects

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61 JOSEPHUS' ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS, book 6, ch. 5.



and those nations that surrounded them, and were devoted to a false, to a pagan religion, except in so far as the Hebrews had not an equal degree of morality. The surrounding tribes, in their wars, disdained the brutality of murdering women and children when taken prisoners.<sup>62</sup> But when the Israelites took prisoners of war, they put them through a cruel torture, sawed them asunder, dragged them to death under harrows, chopped them to pieces with axes, and burnt them alive.<sup>63</sup> This was during the administration of king David. We are informed by the sacred authors that this was the course pursued in all of their wars against the children of Ammon.<sup>64</sup> But before David's reign, at the organization of the monarchy, Saul was crowned, with an obligatory understanding, that he should live a godly and moral life, doing everything according to the decalogue, the supreme laws of the land, and for the prosperity of all Israel. Yet the royal household and Saul were corrupted; they were envious, jealous, and indulged the feelings of hatred, following the last up with a spirit of revenge. The

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<sup>62</sup> "The third day that the Amalekites had invaded the south, and Ziklag, and smitten Ziklag and burnt it with fire; and had taken the women captives that were therein; they slew not any, either great or small, but carried them away. So David and his men came to the city, and, behold, it was burnt with fire; and their wives, and their sons, and their daughters were taken captives."—I SAMUEL, ch. 30, verses 1-3.

<sup>63</sup> II SAMUEL, ch. 12, verse 31.

<sup>64</sup> *IBID.*

valor of David had made him a person of distinction with the masses, and, in consequence, the prince hated his existence and desired to destroy it. Saul knew well the law "he that sheddeth man's blood, by man his blood shall be shed." Yet it did not deter Saul from his wretched deeds, nor stay his own hand from the commission of murder. For, although he failed in his assault upon young David, he directed assassins to put him out of the way.<sup>65</sup> But Saul's cruelty was the cause of his destruction. Although David's character was none of the best in his youth, it became worse after he was elevated to regal dignity. He was guilty of crimes which should shame any German boor out of all pretensions to chastity and to compassion. He committed adultery;<sup>66</sup> and he murdered Uriah that he might keep up a continued and incontinent interview with his widow.<sup>67</sup>

David, through his great piety, took judicious pains to educate his children up to a zealous observance of religion, yet Amnon committed a rape upon his own sister Tamar, and was slain by his brother.<sup>68</sup> Absalom made war upon his aged father, and fell in the conflict. The people, from the least to the greatest

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<sup>65</sup> I SAMUEL, ch. 19, verses 10-24.

<sup>66</sup> II SAMUEL, ch. 11.

<sup>67</sup> IBID.

<sup>68</sup> IBID., ch. 13, verses 12, 13 and 14.

in the Jewish nation, were extremely cruel, and presented a very savage appearance for those whom the public have put forward the claims of possessing moral principles. Their vicious course ashamed the most iniquitous inhabitants of Asia Minor. Solomon attempted the life of Jeroboam, because a prophet had foretold that the latter should become king in place of the former.<sup>69</sup> Nor did God, during all this time, withhold the manifestations of his power. After the temple was finished, the Lord filled the house with the effulgence of His own glory, so that thousands of people saw that no one could enter it in consequence of the brightness of the light.<sup>70</sup> But Solomon was a libertine, and because he allowed his wives to influence him to worship the gods of their country, he was pronounced worse than king David in moral principles, although the latter was convicted by his acts of the crime of murder. The kingdom was not rent out of the possession of the posterity of Solomon because of his libertinism, but for having set up idols to please his courtezans.<sup>71</sup> Jeroboam and Rehoboam, the successors of Solomon, were immoral and wicked, although they were religious. Rehoboam was a tyrant and oppressed the people;<sup>72</sup> he was a

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<sup>69</sup> I KINGS, ch. 11, verse 40.

<sup>70</sup> II CHRONICLES, ch. 7.

<sup>71</sup> I KINGS, ch. 11.

<sup>72</sup> II CHRONICLES, ch. 10, 11 and 12.

libertine, as he had eighteen wives and sixty concubines.<sup>73</sup> Jeroboam was unjust and dishonest toward God, as he, after the Lord had made him king, rebelled against His authority, overturning and driving out of the kingdom the priesthood which Omnipotence had established.<sup>74</sup> He was also a tyrant; he forced the people to worship the images of two calves.<sup>75</sup> Abijah, successor of Rehoboam to the kingdom of Judah, was as tyrannical, overbearing and oppressive as his predecessor;<sup>76</sup> in violation of the laws which he was crowned to administer, he kept fourteen courtezans.<sup>77</sup> And, finally, in the whole line of kings of Israel and Judah, from Saul to Abijah, we are relieved by finding one virtuous prince in the person of Asa. Yet it is not an easy matter to discover what his moral qualities were, for the Jews considered their kings remarkably just if they did not disturb the order of the priesthood and reduce the principles of thugs to too extensive a practice.

Nadab, son of Jeroboam, ruled with such tyranny that his subjects rebelled against his authority and assassinated him. He was succeeded by the person who slew him; and Baasha conducted the government.

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<sup>73</sup> II CHRONICLES, ch. 11, verse 21.

<sup>74</sup> IBID., ch. 13, verse 9.

<sup>75</sup> IBID., verse 8.

<sup>76</sup> I KINGS, ch. 15, verse 3.

<sup>77</sup> II CHRONICLES, ch. 13, verse 21.

for twenty-four years, with all the tyranny that the Jews had ever suffered, and was a terror to all within his dominions.<sup>78</sup> Elah, his son and successor, was killed in a drunken debauchery two years after he came to the succession.<sup>79</sup> Zimri, who headed the revolt which disposed of the preceding sovereign, only reigned seven days, meeting the fate of his predecessor.<sup>80</sup> Omri was, if anything, more vicious, more tyrannical, than Baasha, leading the nation into his own degrading vices, and, with few exceptions, the whole people became corrupt.<sup>81</sup> But Ahab, Omri's son, was also crafty and selfish; following the popular manners of the times, he set the laws of Jehovah at defiance. Whatever was the prevailing fashion of the age he adopted, rejecting all just laws, both moral and divine. Whatever were the popular notions of the inhabitants of the east respecting religion and government, he endorsed and made his own. By pandering to the vanities of the age, he became a hypocrite, and enforced the expensive religious ceremonies of idolatrous nations. He put the priesthood which adhered to the commands of God to death, so that only one was left in that whole dominion of

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<sup>78</sup> I KINGS, ch. 15.

<sup>79</sup> IBID., ch. 16, verses 9 and 10.

<sup>80</sup> IBID., verse 18.

<sup>81</sup> IBID., verses 25 and 26



Israel.<sup>82</sup> He was more cruel than all that “had reigned before him.”<sup>83</sup>

Jehoram violated the laws of his kingdom, and by his example brought the whole nation into the same condition of morals;<sup>84</sup> he murdered many dignitaries of state;<sup>85</sup> he murdered his brothers Azariah, Jehiel, Zechariah, Michael and Shephatiah.<sup>86</sup> Ahaziah was immoral, unjust and wicked, and for his oppressions was slain by his subjects.<sup>87</sup> Jehu murdered Jehoram and Ahaziah, all the children of each of them and the relations both lineally and collaterally;<sup>88</sup> he directed forty-two persons, who had done him and the people no harm, to be put to death, and they were beheaded; he murdered the whole relations of Ahab, personally superintending the murder of Ahab’s sons, seventy in number. The cruelty was so atrociously great he made an apology to the public, and cast the horror of the crime upon the disposition of the Almighty.<sup>89</sup> He slew the ministers of Ahaziah;<sup>90</sup> he murdered Jezebel,<sup>91</sup> because she pronounced

82 I KINGS, ch. 19, verse 14.

83 IBID., ch. 16, verses 30-34 inclusive.

84 II CHRONICLES, ch. 21, verse 13.

85 IBID., verse 4.

86 IBID.

87 IBID., ch. 22.

88 II KINGS, ch. 10.

89 IBID., verse 9.

90 II KINGS, ch. 9.

91 IBID., verses 30-37 inclusive.

the course of Jehu to be that of treason;<sup>92</sup> he allowed not the clergy of a different belief to escape from his cruel tyranny, but hypocritically murdered every one;<sup>93</sup> and finally, after he had thus butchered about one-tenth of the whole kingdom, he pursued the course of a libertine, and about the only good act with which he could be accredited, consisted in, and terminated with, his death.

Jehoash was a virtuous prince, but the predisposition of the people for bloodshed consigned him to that fate which was usual with the kings of the Hebrews.<sup>94</sup> Jehoahaz, king of Israel, followed the brutality of his father, Jehu;<sup>95</sup> became a devotee to the vices of Jero-boam;<sup>96</sup> the whole people relapsed into the idolatry of the surrounding nations, and were become corrupt.<sup>97</sup>

Azariah's noble conduct during his administration relieved the dynasties of the Hebrews from much of the odium of those degrading vices and brutal characteristics which had ever been, with very few exceptions, concomitant elements of king and people. But during his reign over the tribe of Judah, Zachariah came, by lawful inheritance, to the throne of the Israelitish

<sup>92</sup> II KINGS, ch. 9, verse 31.

<sup>93</sup> *IBID.*, ch. 10.

<sup>94</sup> II KINGS, ch. 12, verse 20.

<sup>95</sup> *IBID.*, ch. 13, verse 2.

<sup>96</sup> *IBID.*, ch. 13.

<sup>97</sup> *IBID.*

nation. Zachariah, nevertheless, conducted the government with such tyrannic power and severity toward the rights of the people, that he was assassinated six months after he began to rule.<sup>98</sup> Shallum became the usurper, as he was the assassin,<sup>99</sup> and for these had the good fortune to live thirty days,<sup>100</sup> being killed by Menahem, the commander of Zachariah's army. The last misruled the people for ten years, beginning by murdering all the citizens in one of the cities because they did not surrender to him at discretion.<sup>101</sup> He did not even spare the infants of the place.<sup>102</sup> Such barbarities could not have been perpetrated had not the prince been supported by a large majority of the people, whose character was as detestable as his own. He was succeeded by his son, Pekahiah, in depravity of character as well as in the government of the nation. If the latter could not excel the savage cruelty of the former, the sequel showed that he had equaled it.<sup>103</sup> But the ambition of aspiring despots put an end to his tyranny,<sup>104</sup> and if he were not executed according to law, he met with,

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<sup>98</sup> Compare JOSEPHUS' *ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS*, book 9, ch. 11, with II *KINGS*, ch. 15.

<sup>99</sup> *IBID.*

<sup>100</sup> *IBID.*

<sup>101</sup> *IBID.*, verse 16.

<sup>102</sup> *IBID.*

<sup>103</sup> *IBID.*, verses 23-24.

<sup>104</sup> *IBID.*, verse 25.

by it, no more than his reward. The people's thirst for bloodshed supported the illegal measures of the assassin.<sup>105</sup> The acme of brutal behavior had been attained; and although neither Israel nor Judah possessed individuals whose talents enabled them to outstrip their predecessors in the refined arts of oppression, we know by history that they could rival and imitate the coarser qualities of their crimes.<sup>106</sup> For twenty years the Israelites submitted to the despotic rule of Pekah,<sup>107</sup> and if the people were oppressed, if their pure social relations were destroyed, if their money were unlawfully extorted from them by the government, they balanced the account by fraud upon each other, or upon the tribes, states and nations in the vicinity. Whatever were the customs, fashions and condition of morals at the courts of the kings, became appropriated by the masses and was the rule by which they were governed. As corruption thus became popular, all classes of the twelve tribes were polluted, vice being antagonistic to virtue, the latter was extinguished, the former being in great predominance.

But as the assassination of the kings of Israel and of Judah, had become a habit of the people, Pekah was removed by the same measures which had

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<sup>105</sup> II KINGS, ch. 15, verse 25.

<sup>106</sup> *IBID.*

<sup>107</sup> *IBID.*

terminated the lives of most of the sovereigns of the Hebrews.<sup>108</sup> Regicide entitled and qualified its author for the vacant throne, to which he immediately succeeded; and Hoshea became king of Israel.<sup>109</sup> As many of the former kings of Judah and Israel had, at different times, exterminated the priesthood which ministered to the spiritual wants of the Hebrews according to the laws of their sacred office,<sup>110</sup> the nation degenerated; adopting the idolatrous religions, passions and corruptions of foreign states, forced upon them by the crown, they at first acquiesced, after a time admired, and finally were captivated by those debaucheries to which the Jews, in the land of the orient, were ever predisposed. The reign of Ahaz throughout was characterized by the burning of innocent children alive, to worship the gods of the Phœnicians. He was succeeded by Hezekiah, for whom the laws of nature had done much to restore to a normal condition, in spite of defective hereditary qualities and the corrupting vices of the times. As far as relates to the personal qualities of Hezekiah, and a few others in the twelve tribes, the natural laws restored those internal causes which

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<sup>108</sup> Compare JOSEPHUS' *ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS*, book 9, ch. 13, with II KINGS, ch. 15.

<sup>109</sup> *IBID.*

<sup>110</sup> I KINGS, ch. 19, verse 13.



insure moral principles, and which external phenomena had well nigh completely extinguished. It was during the reigns of Hoshea and Hezekiah that the ten tribes were supplanted, and forever lost to all knowledge of the rest of the Hebrews, according to predictions made by prophets centuries before.<sup>111</sup>

Manasseh succeeded Hezekiah to but one quality, the throne of his father. Farther than their official stations there was no resemblance between them. Manasseh introduced polytheism into the nation, made vice more popular, and plunged the people more deeply into it than had ever been known to exist with the surrounding heathens.<sup>112</sup> Those vices which he introduced continued, for fifty-five years, to act upon what moral properties remained in the people, till they, as a nation, became more immoral and degraded than the Sodomites. He murdered all the priesthood of Aaron, and by his slaughters of the innocents "filled Jerusalem with blood from one end to another."<sup>113</sup> It is remarkable that such monsters as Manasseh should die natural deaths among a people as turbulent and base as the Hebrews had become. It is still more remarkable that those

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<sup>111</sup> Compare JOSEPHUS' *ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS*, book 9, ch. 14, with II KINGS, ch. 17.

<sup>112</sup> II KINGS, ch. 21.

<sup>113</sup> Compare JOSEPHUS' *ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS*, book 10, ch. 3, with II KINGS, ch. 21, verse 16.

animal faculties which he had wholly and only exercised, save his religious, and caused the people, by imitating his example, to perpetrate the most brutal outrages toward their fellows, had not extinguished his life in the beginning of his administration. His son, Amon, disciplined in all the corruptions of his father and of his age, was slain by his own subjects for those cruelties which he had inflicted upon them.<sup>114</sup> But the majority of the inhabitants were indignant at the murder of Amon, and slew his assassins.<sup>115</sup> It follows, from this, that they endorsed the character of Amon, and also, that they had not done so had they not been as vicious as he. The multitude then placed Josiah upon the throne. Yet he, although pronounced just and righteous, slew all the clergy who did not follow the religion instituted by Moses.<sup>116</sup> Those kings who were believed to be moral by the Jewish writers, invariably slew or murdered all the ecclesiastics of opposing faiths. So that from Saul to Josiah, the whole kings of Judah and of Israel were engaged in the occupation of murder. The whole Jewish nation, not included in the slaughter, endorsed these acts and carried them into effect at the request of the kings. Whenever a person

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<sup>114</sup> Compare JOSEPHUS' *ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS*, book 10, ch. 4, with II KINGS, ch. 21.

<sup>115</sup> *IBID.*

<sup>116</sup> II KINGS, ch. 23, verse 20.

was elevated to the throne of either Judah or Israel, he became intolerant to all religious opinions but his own. He did not allow the clergy the privilege of recantation, but immediately put them to death; and as often as the opinion of the crown changed with each succession, there was to his side, a reversal of apparent belief in the people. But the ecclesiastics, under all circumstances, must suffer death. The hierarchical portion of the government of these kings exercised greater severity toward dissentients than did the papacy in the middle ages. In the time of Ahab we have an instance of this, when Elijah told the Lord that all the clergy were destroyed by the government, that he was the only one that remained, and that they were seeking him to bring him to execution.<sup>117</sup> But the slaughter of the Aaronic priesthood, during the reign of Ahab, was partly retorted by Elijah when he excited the multitude to slay the four hundred and fifty prophets of Baal.<sup>118</sup> When there was an alternation of religion, of polytheism with monotheism, in the person of the sovereign, there was one also with the people. Whichever became the pleasure of the king was fashionable with the masses, and those who held on to their faith were swept away as if it were a matter of justice.

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<sup>117</sup> I KINGS, ch. 18, verse 22, and ch. 19, verse 14.

<sup>118</sup> *IBID.*, ch. 18.

And thus with the Jews virtue was wiped out by hypocrisy. It was impossible to exist and at the same time oppose the professed belief of the majority, although it is evident, from the history of the twelve tribes, that for more than two-thirds of the period which elapsed from the reign of Saul to that of Josiah, the whole nation was a body of moral hypocrites. We have seen that they not only adopted the religion, but the form of government common to neighboring states, because they were more fashionable in this portion of the world. Fashionable religions and popular forms of government were more acceptable to the masses than those which emanated from above. It has been shown that from the establishment of the Hebrews in Phœnicia, after their escape from bondage, that there was a constant degeneracy of the moral faculties of the mind.

But during these rebellions of the Hebrews against the government of Jehovah; during the time in which they were divided up into parties for the commission of thefts, frauds, robberies, rapes and murders, there was a constant visitation of God's marvelous power. Miracles continued to be wrought by God through his prophets before the people, so that the evidence of a divine administration was not taken upon the statement of others in distant ages, but was brought within the absolute knowledge of the Jews.

There must, therefore, have been a perfect conviction of this truth; and if, under such circumstances, the people degenerated from a moral condition, what better can be hoped from it eighteen hundred years after the theocracy has altogether ceased to exist. If the Hebrews had every reason to believe in the existence of a God, and in the institution of a thearchy, that then, in pursuance of these convictions, they were accustomed to religious exercises in feeling during worship; if, we say, under all these circumstances, they relapsed into depravity and the practice of all forms of vice, it conclusively establishes that a religious culture of the mind does not work a discipline of the moral. We have seen with what miraculous signs, during God's guidance of them, they were led, from the birth of Abraham to their arrival in the promised land, and also the condition of their morals and of their religion during that long period. We have also shown what their moral condition was, from the establishment of the theocracy to the supplanting of the ten tribes and the captivity of Judah. It now remains to discover what was the evidence upon which they could depend for a belief in divine revelations, from the beginning of the thearchy to the conquest of Judea by Babylonia.

When the Israelites had become firmly settled in the land assigned to them by Moses, and their slavish



minds had begun to ape the foolish manners of the Amorites in religious ceremonials, disregarding whatever pertained to truth and to justice, they abandoned the charges of the decalogue. For reproof and correction of their ways, the Lord appeared to them through the agency of an angel. It was a personal appearance to the majority of the Israelites, and "they lifted up their voices and wept."<sup>119</sup> An angel of the Lord appeared to Gideon and conversed with him face to face;<sup>120</sup> but when he was overcome by the marvelous visitation and serious condition in which he was placed, the Lord God spoke to him and said, "Peace be unto thee; fear not; thou shalt not die."<sup>121</sup> The Lord first charged him to throw down the altars erected by the people for the purposes of worshipping Baal, and build one in its stead,<sup>122</sup> upon which to offer sacrifices to the God of Israel.<sup>123</sup> God manifested his presence personally by the trial which Gideon made with the fleece;<sup>124</sup> but the most signal exhibition of Jehovah's presence was the manner in which Gideon destroyed the hosts of the allies, as God had previously told him He would do it, that all Israel might know that Omnipotence had not yet deserted

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<sup>119</sup> JUDGES, ch. 2, verses 1-6; B. C. 1425.

<sup>120</sup> *IBID.*, ch. 6, verses 11-22 inclusive; B. C. 1258.

<sup>121</sup> *IBID.*, verse 23.

<sup>122</sup> *IBID.*, verse 25.

<sup>123</sup> *IBID.*, verse 26.

<sup>124</sup> *IBID.*, verses 36-40.

the Hebrews.<sup>125</sup> Three hundred men, with pitchers and trumpets as arms of attack, slaughtered one hundred and twenty thousand of the enemy.<sup>126</sup> All these marvelous things came within the positive knowledge of the people.<sup>127</sup>

It was foretold that Samson would be born with such physical power as to be able to oppose and defeat an army. It came to fulfillment according to prediction; being so much greater than anything which was human, all Israel and Judah knew that it was immediately derived from God.<sup>128</sup> God appeared and conversed with Samuel 1165 B. C.;<sup>129</sup> and the revelations made to Samuel were fulfilled in such manner as to convince all Israel that he was a prophet of the Lord. The Lord raised up Samuel from the grave to converse with Saul in the presence of three witnesses, and Samuel told Saul that he and his sons should sleep in the silence of death on the following day,<sup>130</sup> 1056 B. C. In the year 951 B. C. Jehu prophesied that the whole dynasty of Baasha should be extinguished by the sword.<sup>131</sup> They were all destroyed twenty-one years afterward.<sup>132</sup>

<sup>125</sup> JUDGES, ch. 7.

<sup>126</sup> *IBID.*, ch. 7, verse 19, with ch. 8, verse 10.

<sup>127</sup> *IBID.*, ch. 7, verses 20, 21 and 22.

<sup>128</sup> See chapters 13, 14, 15 and 16, *passim*.

<sup>129</sup> I SAMUEL, ch. 3.

<sup>130</sup> *IBID.*, ch. 28.

<sup>131</sup> I KINGS, ch. 16, verse 7.

<sup>132</sup> *IBID.*, verses 10, 11 and 12.

Ahab rebelled against the ecclesiastical laws of the Hebrews as well as against the rights of man. For his acts in violation of the former, the Lord sent Elijah to him to rebuke him and the people, with power from above to withhold dew and rain from the earth in the region of the Hebrews. Ahab and his court were told by Elijah there should not be dew nor rain but according to his word.<sup>133</sup> And accordingly Elijah "smote" the land with drouth into the third year,<sup>134</sup> so that there was a great scarcity of both water and provender for man and beast.<sup>135</sup> Elijah prayed for rain, and it poured down in abundance.<sup>136</sup> Elijah called fire down from heaven, by which he burned up the sacrifice, wood and water,<sup>137</sup> and thus demonstrated, by the drouth and the fire, (the last before four hundred priests of Baal and a large multitude of people,) that the God of Abraham did still preside over the world, that he still wrought miracles to convince mankind of his being and his administration, 906 B. C. The people

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<sup>133</sup> "And Elijah the Tishbite, who was of the inhabitants of Gilead, said unto Ahab, 'As the Lord God of Israel liveth before whom I stand, there shall not be dew nor rain these years, but according to my word.'"—I KINGS, ch. 17.

<sup>134</sup> "And it came to pass, after many days, that the word of the Lord came to Elijah in the third year" [of the drouth] "saying, 'Go show thyself unto Ahab, and I will send rain upon the earth.'"—IBID., chap. 18, verse 1.

<sup>135</sup> Compare IBID., verses 3-7, with JOSEPHUS' *ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS*, book 8, ch. 13, sec. 4.

<sup>136</sup> IBID., ch. 18, verse 45.

<sup>137</sup> IBID., verses 30-39.

were so firmly convinced by the testimony of the miracle that they, at the instance of the prophet, slew all the priests who ministered to Baal.<sup>138</sup>

God, through the intercession of Elijah, burned up one hundred men;<sup>139</sup> he foretold Ahaziah's death, which immediately afterwards occurred;<sup>140</sup> Elijah parted the waters of the river Jordan, he and his disciple passing over on dry ground,<sup>141</sup> 896 B. C.; and, in the sight of fifty-one men was separated by a whirlwind from earth, and taken up into heaven by a chariot of fire.<sup>142</sup>

God, through the sacred office of Isaiah, answered the prayer of Hezekiah, and destroyed his enemies to the number of one hundred and eighty-five thousand,<sup>143</sup> 710 B. C.; the prayer and the wonderful manner in which the Hebrews were delivered out of their distress being known to all Israel.<sup>144</sup> Before the taking of Jerusalem by the Babylonians, Jeremiah, the prophet, foretold it to the king and the people;<sup>145</sup> Isaiah uttered a prophecy to the same purport, about one hundred and forty years before the prediction of

<sup>138</sup> I KINGS, ch. 18, verse 40.

<sup>139</sup> Compare II KINGS, ch. 1, with JOSEPHUS' ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS, book 9, ch. 2.

<sup>140</sup> *IBID.*

<sup>141</sup> *IBID.*, ch. 2, verses 7 and 8.

<sup>142</sup> *IBID.*, verses 7-13.

<sup>143</sup> *IBID.*, ch. 19.

<sup>144</sup> *IBID.*

<sup>145</sup> Compare JEREMIAH, ch. 25, with JOSEPHUS' ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS, book 10, ch. 7.

Jeremiah.<sup>146</sup> Jerusalem was captured and destroyed in the manner which God had made known to the Hebrews.<sup>147</sup> Jeremiah prophesied the return of the Jews, which took place according to his word,<sup>148</sup> seventy years afterward.

Such were the marvelous phenomena which occurred from time to time after the exode to the captivity of the twelve tribes of the Hebrews. Those miracles which had taken place were convincing evidence of God's existence, government, and his special intervention in behalf of man. All this was sufficient to induce any people to believe in religion, to obey its ordinances and commandments.

Thus we have seen what were the moral and religious characters of the Hebrew nations, from their first conquest of the Canaanites, 1444 B. C., to the Babylonish captivity, about 590 B. C. At no time during this period did they relapse into infidelity, for they were devoted to the religion of their fathers, or to that of polytheism, the then prevailing belief of the nations of western Asia. They constantly worshiped the God of the Hebrews, or the gods of the surrounding heathens. As the inhabitants of Asia were more

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<sup>146</sup> Compare ISAIAH, ch. 1, with JOSEPHUS' *ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS*, book 10, ch. 2.

<sup>147</sup> II CHRONICLES, ch. 36.

<sup>148</sup> Compare JEREMIAH, ch. 25, with DANIEL, ch. 5.



numerous than the Jews, and their ideas of religion therefore more popular, the Jews frequently adopted them at the mere indication of the court of their kings. The miracles were true, according to their testimony, and they must have been convinced, not only of a divine revelation, but of an administration and special interventions in their behalf from above.

Having related those facts which, by way of proof, bear upon the religious and moral condition of the Hebrews down to the time of their captivity in Babylon, we shall omit the narration of about four hundred years of the history of these two elements of their character, taking it up just before the beginning of their war against the Romans. It appears to us that at the time to which we have last made reference, they had arrived at a condition of turpitude which is wholly unparalleled by any other race or age.

Just before the time the war broke out between the Jews and the Romans, the former were in a state of social disorganization. Everything had the appearance, and took the direction of a final reckoning; not only the different states, but the people within the many cities gave evidence, by their conduct, of being seized with a peculiar madness to rob and murder all natives as well as foreigners. It naturally occurs as something remarkable that the suicide of this people was deferred so long, that they had not

disappeared by the complete and perfect destruction of themselves. The only faculties of their minds which they had cultivated were the religious and the animal, and this having continued for fifteen centuries, they were wrought into a condition, characteristic of the fiercest species of the animal creation. From a theological stand-point it is evident that, for some ulterior object, an invincible power chained those fierce elements, suppressing their fatal manifestation, and postponed their disastrous effects to a more distant time. They were as religious as when they settled in the dominions of Pharaoh. They were scrupulous in their attendance upon the religious ceremonies which were rife among them; they constantly, according to their ecclesiastical laws, offered sacrifices, observed feasts, fasts and the Sabbath. In a word, they obeyed, as near as can be determined by outward appearance, the canons transmitted to them by Moses and Aaron. Centuries before the time of which we now write, they were constantly rebelling against their ecclesiastical laws, and murdering the prophets. But as we approach that period in which they present to our contemplation the most vicious natures and the most cruel dispositions, their conduct brings into strong contrast with their base character the characteristics of habitual piety and devotion. The government of Rome, which held them in

subjection, was unable to suppress the disorders, riots, robberies and murders which were constantly occurring in the territory of the two tribes. The Roman power, although strongly impregnated at this early day with those corrupting elements which finally produced its overthrow, was sufficiently equitable in its administration, to be a blessing to a more savage and barbarous people which the Jews proved to be. Inordinate avarice, licentiousness, a peculiar characteristic of the Jews, political and ecclesiastical ambition, distinction in private and public life, goaded the masses to the commission of all sorts of crimes to attain their desires. Armed bands, composed of men believing and observing the religion of their ancestors in ceremonials, were prevalent in all parts of Judea. But the highways were infested by no worse men in point of depravity, than those of the Jewish tribes who exercised the functions of civil administration over their own people, by the permission of the Cæsars. The time had arrived when the government preferred the association of outlaws to that of just men and more perfect organizations. All classes, from the boor to the high priest, pressed in one direction and toward the same object; all classes were readily persuaded of the justice of the cause of those litigants whose purses were the most amply supplied. All grades were accessible to bribery, and from the nature of their

affairs, the prevalence of the outlaw gangs and their successful operations, it is fair to presume that they had silent confederates in official stations of the civil government and in ecclesiastical robes of the hierarchy. While each vied with the other, and zealously contended to win social and public esteem through religious devotion, we discover a degree of cruelty and injustice which did not characterize the nation five centuries before. Their cruelty was not exercised upon the guilty, but upon the innocent. Their frauds were practiced upon those only who were unable to penetrate the veil which obscured their designs or comprehend the status of their moral condition. The devotee of justice, had he dared to act in reformatory measures, would have found himself confronted by powerful enemies in the persons of political and ecclesiastical functionaries. Although the curmudgeon withheld bread from the starving widow and orphan, his calling was made respectable by the previous fall of the people into greater vices. The worst forms of depravity pervaded all relations, and perjury, incontinence, soricide, uxorcide, paricide, fratricide, and filicide were become common to the knowledge of the masses of the nation, and no longer curdled the blood of the fastidious. As all ranks, ages, and sexes, seemed to be possessed of an unlimited disposition for the commission of evil, the devout, for want of better

reasons, might argue that the entire nation was forced on to self-destruction by demons of the nether world. If the agents of Nero were oppressive to the Jews, if they stirred up strife among them, it was because they found the latter parasitical and feloniously predisposed. Had the people been moral, the subsidiary interests of Neronic power in that portion of the globe would have been weak and ineffectual. But the governors of the Roman tyrant readily discovered by the condition of the people, that whatever acts of barbarity they were disposed to enforce, would be endorsed by all those of the Hebrews who were allowed to share in the spoils, or in the apparent honors of position. If neither of these were accorded to the learned, to the rich, or to those of illustrious birth, they were known to be silently assisting the marauding bands in their raids upon the masses, or actively and publicly engaged in the burning of cities and the plunder of towns. Although the Roman governors were not reluctant to remove, by violence, the persons of what few private individuals there were who dared to oppose the encroachments of the executive upon their own peculiar stations, yet they always found at hand among the Jews, servile and ready slaves to carry their bloody measures into execution.<sup>152</sup>

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<sup>152</sup> See the case of the high priest, Jonathan, when assassins were hired by Felix to treacherously put him to death.—JOSEPHUS' ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS, book 20, ch. 8, sec. 5.



The most intimate friend of Jonathan, for a large sum of money given to him by the procurator, plotted his death and thus caused his murder.<sup>150</sup> The friends of the high priest were in friendly communication with marauding gangs and murderers.<sup>151</sup> These outlaws were alternately employed by the government and by the pious friends and relatives of those in exalted stations in the church.<sup>152</sup> Although the employed had less pride, he had not less morality than his employer. Yet the robbers of the nation were accustomed to go up to the temple for the double purpose to worship God and to secretly stab those whom they were employed by reward to destroy.<sup>153</sup> If one in the holy city had enemies who were possessed of means, he stood in fear of being murdered by hired assassins, either in his own house, in the streets, or even in the temple.<sup>154</sup> Persons of ecclesiastical pretensions imposed upon the multitude, and while the latter were deluded into the wilderness, they were slain by their kindred from the city.<sup>155</sup>

The robbers were not wholly in the employ of wealthy civilians; they were retained by the high

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<sup>150</sup> JOSEPHUS' ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS, book 20, ch. 8, sec. 5.

<sup>151</sup> *IBID.*

<sup>152</sup> *IBID.*

<sup>153</sup> *IBID.*

<sup>154</sup> *IBID.*

<sup>155</sup> *IBID.*, sec. 6.

priests, by whom also they were led on to riot, and by force to seize upon the highest positions in the church for their ecclesiastical leaders.<sup>156</sup> The covetous nature of the high priests was not modified by the condition of the victim, but by the elements of their own fear; might made right, and as the defenseless could offer no resistance, the primates of the church preyed upon the poor and the weak. Nor did they have regard to the relation of consanguinity, of friends or foes, for whoever fell into their hands was stripped of whatever he possessed, and while he thus became destitute, his former goods, although of little worth, went to swell and increase the riches of the highest and most exalted men of God. They left nothing, but in many instances took all; and one would naturally suppose that they must, through mercy, have spared their clerical brethren, but they did not; they took, by armed force, the grain off the thrashing-floors of the poorest priests, which was in preparation to sustain their own lives and those of their families. The consequence was that vast numbers of the latter, together with their families, starved to death.<sup>157</sup>

The high priests, backed by those outlaws whom they had retained, fought small battles against each

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<sup>156</sup> JOSEPHUS' *ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS*, book 20, ch. 8, sec. 8.

<sup>157</sup> *IBID.*

other, to obtain the perquisites and the ecclesiastical honors of the church.<sup>158</sup> Yet they offered sacrifices and burnt incense in the holy house to the Most High. They observed the feasts, the fasts, the sabbath, and all those injunctions except the moral laws, such as thou shalt not steal, nor defraud thy neighbor, nor rob him;<sup>159</sup> thou shalt not commit adultery;<sup>160</sup> he that killeth any man shall surely be put to death;<sup>161</sup> if thy brother be waxen poor, and fallen in decay with thee, then thou shalt relieve him, yea, though he be a stranger or a sojourner, that he may live with thee.<sup>162</sup> But as a large part of the Jewish nation had, from the lowest citizen to the highest functionary, already become robbers, assassinations were cheap and plunder common.<sup>163</sup>

As years added to the age of the hierarchy, and gave weight and reverence to the forms of worship, the people were being converted from a partial moral condition into one of professional criminality.<sup>164</sup> They threw off all restraints, and all claims even to apparent respectability

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<sup>158</sup> JOSEPHUS' *ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS*, book 20, ch. 8, sec. 8.

<sup>159</sup> *LEVITICUS*, ch. 19, verses 11-13.

<sup>160</sup> *IBID.*, ch. 20, verse 10.

<sup>161</sup> *IBID.*, ch. 24, verse 17.

<sup>162</sup> *IBID.*, ch. 25, verse 35.

<sup>163</sup> See *ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS*, book 20, ch. 8, sec. 10, where Josephus says that Judea was so afflicted by robbers that they were enabled to subdue whole cities.

<sup>164</sup> *IBID.*

For fifteen centuries the Hebrews had been progressing, and with them as with us in America, as they were successful in the accumulation of riches, surrounding themselves with the real and the imaginary comforts of life, they rejected all ideas of a moral retrogression.<sup>165</sup> Those who held different opinions were murmurers, croakers and foreboders of evil, who envied the prosperity of others. The whole world was growing intellectually greater and morally better. In reality, as their whole history shows, from the time of their first establishment in Canaan to the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus Vespasian, they gradually grew worse and worse in morals; they progressed in religion and criminality, but not in virtue.<sup>166</sup> Concurrent with the accumulations of the miser, or of the debauchee, there is proportional satisfaction at the condition of the world. The latter can enjoy his animal appetite to its full, and the former be lost in the worship of the means. The learned, the professional, the rich, defrauded the poor and the ignorant; they robbed and out-robbed the robbers.<sup>167</sup> But we find that all classes, even the

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<sup>165</sup> MATTHEW, ch. 23.

<sup>166</sup> See MATTHEW, ch. 23, verses 20-33, where Christ denounces them as being possessed and actuated by the utmost wickedness.

<sup>167</sup> See the case wherein Doras, a "faithful friend" of Jonathan, the high priest, was employed by Felix "to bring the robbers upon Jonathan, in order to kill him; and this he did by promising to give him a great deal of money for so doing. Doras complied with the proposal, and contrived

robbers themselves, went up to the temple to worship God, and zealously regarded all ceremonials of the spiritual laws, although they paid no attention to the moral commandments.<sup>168</sup> Such was the religious and moral condition of the Jews at the breaking out of hostilities between them and the Romans in the twelfth year of the reign of Nero.

Their evil passions were the immediate cause of the war, as these were afterward, during the siege of the holy city, the productive agencies of their own immolation.<sup>169</sup> Whoever will take the trouble to closely study the condition of the Jewish mind, from the founding of the theocracy to the conflagration of the holy house, will not fail to discover the two diverse directions in which their moral and religious faculties must have progressed. Mankind are either controlled and directed by the moral or by the animal; they are agents of the one or of the other, and hence it becomes the intelligence of mankind to elect by which the world shall be governed. Shall

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matters so that the robbers might murder him, after the following manner: Certain of those robbers went up to the city as if they were going to worship God, while they had daggers under their garments, and thus mingling themselves among the multitude, they slew Jonathan."—JOSEPHUS' *ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS*, book 20, ch. 8, sec. 5.

<sup>168</sup> *IBID.* passim after ch. 8.

<sup>169</sup> See Josephus' preface to *THE HISTORY OF THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM*, sec. 4, where he says: "Accordingly it appears to me that the misfortunes of all men, from the beginning of the world, if they be compared to these of the Jews, are not so considerable as they were; while the authors of them were not foreigners neither."



vice and crime be the ruling elements in the future, as they have been in the past? These can only be determined by a contemplation of their conduct. The Jews had progressed, religiously, into a condition of piety, and were become bigots in their beliefs; yet they had not advanced in the feelings of justice and compassion, but had, on the contrary, degenerated into the wretched status of the pirate, had fallen wholly under the influence of the animal faculties of the mind. Yet they were firmly convinced that they held a better moral relation to mankind than did their forefathers. In the advancement of these ideas of progression, they told the Saviour of the world that had they lived in the earlier ages of the church they "would not have been partakers in the blood of the prophets."<sup>170</sup>

They closely adhered to the traditions of the church, but zealously imitated the vicious conduct of mankind in the past. These were the only two advances they had made, for in the arts, in architecture, and generally in all those things which are the results of the intellectual faculties of mankind, they had fallen behind their progenitors; they exalted the wisdom of their ancestors, and in comparison felt a

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<sup>170</sup> Consult MATTHEW, ch. 23, verses 30-31, where Christ answered this conceit of theirs, and in His peculiar language pronounced them as culpable as those who slew the prophets.

disparagement of their own.<sup>171</sup> The Jewish temple was built more than six hundred years before the final dispersion of the Jews. It was a work of masterly art, and although not as magnificent as king Solomon's, which was destroyed by Babylon, yet had long been the admiration of the world. Its workmanship exceeded anything constructed in posterior ages.

But even knowledge, of whatever kind it may be, is a curse to mankind if it tend not to elevate man morally and socially. The intellectual powers, from which much knowledge and learning arise, are subjective agents of the affective faculties of the mind. It matters not, however, whether the Hebrews advanced in knowledge or not, it is evident that they did not in wisdom. But that they advanced in their spiritual condition, and also that they at the same time degenerated from a moral one, is beyond question.

We shall now introduce a few of those facts which relate to the moral and religious condition of the Jews just before their dispersion and during the siege of Jerusalem. We have traced the decline of their moral powers from Abraham to the conquest of the two tribes by the Babylonians, and from the period just before the commencement of their war against the Romans to the breaking out of hostilities. We have already shown that after their restoration by Cyrus they no

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<sup>171</sup> MATTHEW, ch. 24; MARK, ch. 13, and LUKE, ch. 21.

more rebelled against the religion of their ancestors, but increased their devotions to the outer and inner forms of spiritual worship. By the side of this steady growth of their religious principles we find a constant and continued disappearance of all moral elements from the nation. A final summing up of the facts of their condition in these two particulars will end our reflections upon their history.

Perhaps there is no better method by which to discover the moral qualities of a people than to wholly emancipate them from all penal laws; that when this is done, the true character of the nation will appear fully to the satisfaction of the most stupid incredulity. It would, to say the least, be a dangerous experiment, and, although no one can conceive it without a decided disapproval, it has been often carried into practical effect in both ancient and modern times. The venality of the judiciary and of the executive has ever been a source of complaint in the past, and will ever continue to be in the future. It is principally from these two stations that civil wars are evolved, although the latter are not the direct and immediate consequences of the former. For it is evident to the most superficial that, were the people just, the power to do evil would have no being in these functionaries of government. And if the people should become such, the corruption of official persons would

disappear. Whenever venality has become practical with officers of state, it has also with the people. There is a market for it, and its quantity is in proportion to the demoralized condition of the masses. Therefore whoever affirms that his country has been ruined by governors of venal motives, directly charges his own people with depravity. It is also evident that mankind do not become corrupt all at once, but that it is by a long and constant operation of the natural laws that moral principles are made to disappear. And when it is made known to our understanding that litigants and competitors, at any former period, owed their success not to the merits of their cause, but to the unwarrantable partiality of functionaries, we are driven, by force of reason, to the conclusion that venality existed in both before they came in contact.

This was the condition of affairs in Judea when the relation of peace was broken off between it and Rome. For several centuries before the procuratorships of Albinus and Gessius Florus, an inordinate thirst for gold had become one of the chief ruling passions in the majority of the nation. The respectable classes in former ages, who had disdained to violate the civil laws of the land, and openly obtain their desires by plunder of the unwary, now took an indirect, but not the less systematic and disreputable, course to accomplish

the same end. In the elections or appointments to the civil and ecclesiastical governments, this passion placed the higher classes in bonded obligations to success, and no means, however unscrupulous, was omitted which was designed, by its nature, to warrant a favorable issue. The same corrupt system was the measure of individual prosperity in the trades and in the professions, and as this soon became common to the majority as an external assistant to the amassment of wealth, the symptoms of moral decay came to the knowledge of all as an example for imitation. Although these external acts were lightly considered by the people, they had a direct and dangerous effect on their inner nature. While they thus satiated their ambition, they expunged their manhood. Moral principles were no longer known except in a few individual instances, the baser passions becoming the predominant and ruling elements of the respectable.

While this system of demoralization was in progress with the higher ranks, the lower, influenced by the vicious conduct of the prosperous, took a bolder, but no more dangerous, attitude to the existence of the state. They abandoned all pretensions to honesty, organizing themselves into companies for pillage and plunder upon the public. In no considerable time the bands of outlaws had so increased their numbers as to become potent, and very influential upon officers of



state and church. In the meantime they conducted their enterprises against their own people. They became a dangerous power in the land to the just, and more especially to those who divided the spoils of the nation among themselves for pretended official services to the state. The remaining portion of the masses, not lost to virtue, were the victims of both. The dishonest peculations of the functionaries of the kingdom, of the hierarchy, on the one hand, and of the robbers on the other, became a crushing weight to the poor, and as the sustenance of the nation depended upon the labor of the last, their earnings were severely reduced. Life became burdensome, its support difficult, changing the feelings into bitterness and disgust. When such had become the mental condition of the poor, there was a rapid accession to the ranks, and multiplication of the power, of the robbers.

Such was the ambition of the Jews, and of their country, when Albinus and Gessius Florus were appointed by the Roman government as procurators of the Hebrews. Certain writers of the Jewish war would desire us to believe that these governors were the immediate cause of hostilities, when it is well known that they could have accomplished but a little more than nothing, had they not been supported by a large portion, if not by the majority, of the ruled. All the time of Albinus' appointment, the land was

overrun by gangs of highwaymen.<sup>172</sup> Although the governor was secretly in league with them, released them from prisons and granted them indulgence to commit plunder, yet the principal citizens had previously either organized bad men into gangs, or had coalesced with others already formed, and carried on their peculiar vocation in the large city.<sup>173</sup> Perhaps no country in the whole world could, at any period of its history, present such an example of moral degeneration. Nearly a moiety of the people were either secretly or openly engaged in the commission of crime. The calling of the outlaw had been so long treated with lenity by the government, and countenanced by the masses, that it had grown into power and respectability. Their operations in the capital indicated their number and their power, as they were able to silence and put in fear all persons peaceably predisposed. Although the masses were robbed, none dare utter a murmur against the act.<sup>174</sup>

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<sup>172</sup> JOSEPHUS' WARS OF THE JEWS, book 2, ch. 14, sec. 1.

<sup>173</sup> *IBID.*

<sup>174</sup> As to the extent of their power over the people, and the fear which the latter stood in, may be gathered from the following passage of Josephus: "At this time it was, that the enterprises of the seditious at Jerusalem were very formidable: the principal men among them purchasing leave of Albinus to go on with their seditious practices; while that part of the people who delighted in disturbances, joined themselves to such as had fellowship with Albinus: and every one of those wicked wretches was compassed with his own band of robbers, while himself, like an arch-robber, or a tyrant, made a figure among his company, and abused his authority over those about him, in order to plunder those that lived quietly. The effect of which was this,

But the Jews, instead of being corrupted by the Roman governors, were the corrupters of them; they subordinated the agents of Rome to the advancements of their own pecuniary ends. Those among the Jews who had wealth purchased the influence, or the silence, of the latter to the robberies which the former had committed. Nor can this act, so far as we are informed, be chargeable to the lower classes of the inhabitants, for it and many more of a similar nature were the acts of the prelates of the church. Ananus, the high priest during the administration of Albinus, had surrounded himself with a gang of Jews who went out of the city and committed robberies upon the agriculturists, returning the plunder to their leader.

But when it became known at the seat of empire that Albinus had been influenced by money to tolerate the barbarous acts of the clergy and wealthy civilians, he was removed by the imperial government, and another appointed to fill his position. During his administration robberies had been the most numerous and frequent that had ever been known in Judea.

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that those who lost their goods were forced to hold their peace when they had reason to show great indignation at what they had suffered; but those who escaped were forced to flatter him that deserved to be punished, out of the fear they were in of suffering equally with the others. Upon the whole, nobody durst speak their mind, for tyranny was generally tolerated and at this time were those seeds sown which brought the city to destruction.”—**JOSEPHUS' WARS OF THE JEWS**, book 2, ch. 14, sec. 1.

He both tolerated them and destroyed their enterprises; but none met with disfavor who were willing to contribute to his private purse. It is evident, from his acts, that he intended to license all who were willing to divide the spoils with him; those who did not were antagonistic to his interests, and those only did he punish. Although he was accessible to bribery and joined himself to the interest of some of the outlaw gangs, he was no worse than the high priest, Jesus, for Albinus and Jesus were bought to favor the schemes of that gang of robbers which was headed by another high priest, Ananus, at one and the same time. In these cases money was more potent than the feelings of religion and equity.<sup>175</sup>

But when Gessius Florus succeeded Albinus, we find an entire change in the appearance of the higher class of the Jews. Florus emancipated the people from all penal laws by encouraging them in the commission of crimes. Then it was that the higher classes, in both state and church, threw off all reserve, and plied their vocation with the public avowal of their object.<sup>176</sup> And the higher we ascend in the different classes of this people, from the poorest peasant to the most illustrious prelate and prince, we meet with corruption in proportion to our advance.

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<sup>175</sup> JOSEPHUS' ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS, book 20, ch. 9, sec. 2.

<sup>176</sup> *IBID.*, ch. 11, sec. 1.

The Jews dreaded their own governors; they preferred those of Roman extraction, because the latter were less odious and cruel. At the death of the Jewish king, Herod, sixty-nine years before Vespasian invaded Judea with the Roman armies, the people opposed the succession of his son, Archelaus. The reasons which they had for opposing Archelaus, was the tyrannical and cruel nature of the man.<sup>177</sup> He had slaughtered three thousand of the people that had gone up to worship, while he and they were offering sacrifices.<sup>178</sup> The Hebrews considered the Romans to be barbarians, without religion, and doomed to be lost at the day of judgment, yet they acknowledged the greater humanity of their foreign governors. But Archelaus was not the only governor of the Jews who directed his official power to the murder of his own people, for at the breaking out of hostilities, the toparch, Simon, ravaged, robbed and murdered all the wealthy of his own nation in Idumea for their money and other valuables.<sup>179</sup> This he did while all

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<sup>177</sup> "And indeed the purport of his' [Antipas] "discourse was to aggravate Archelaus' crime in slaying such a multitude about the temple. which multitude came to the festival, but were barbarously slain in the midst of their own sacrifices, and he said there was such a vast number of dead bodies heaped together in the temple as even a foreign war should that come upon them before it was announced, could not have heaped together."—JOSEPHUS' WARS OF THE JEWS, book 2, ch 2, sec. 5.

<sup>178</sup> *IBID.*, ch. 1, sec. 3.

<sup>179</sup> See the horrid acts of this villain drawn by Josephus, in WARS OF THE JEWS, book 2, ch. 22, sec. 2.



the cities of the Jews were being fortified for defense against the advance of the Roman arms. A fine exhibition of patriotism, of compassion and of justice, that, when the whole people of the country were in excitement and endeavoring to prepare themselves for defense against a nation that comprehended within its grasp the entire civilized earth, one of its generals with his army murders thousands for mere money, and afterward by blows brutally disfigures the bodies of the dead. The more discerning of the nation foresaw that the calamities which were being committed by their own generals, upon themselves, were worse than any that would be perpetrated by any foreign power. They desired in all instances at this time to be delivered from their own people. But it was a small portion of the Hebrews, for, by the paucity of their numbers, in comparison to the whole body of the nation, they were enabled to make very little opposition to that mad energy which controlled the seditious and urged them on to their own complete national extinction.

To convince one that the selfish and the animal faculties of the mind of this people were in unconditional supremacy over the moral, it requires but an indifferent scrutiny of the character of the conduct in the majority. All this majority, who were possessed either of great physical strength, or of sufficient riches to exercise influence over the lower classes, abandoned

the cause of their country, of their people, of all but the gratification of their own brutal natures and spiritual feelings in the religion of their ancestors. The degree to which the last two were carried is, indeed, almost as marvelous as miracles at which skeptics have been disposed to scout since the introduction of primitive Christianity into Rome. They were directly engaged either in their own devotion to despotic positions over the nation, or the accumulation of great riches by the plunder of the people. Judas, Simon, Athrongeus, and a great many others put crowns on their own heads, setting themselves up as kings of the Hebrews.<sup>180</sup>

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180 "At this time there were great disturbances in the country, and that in many places; and the opportunity that now offered itself induced a great many to set up for king. \* \* \* In Seporis, also, a city of Galilee, there was one Judas, (the son of the arch-robber Hezekias,) who formerly overran the country, and had been subdued by king Herod; this man got no small multitude together, and broke open the place where the royal armor was laid up, and armed those about him, and attacked those that were so earnest to gain the dominion. \* \* \* In Perea also, Simon, one of the servants of the king, relying upon the handsome appearance and tallness of his person, put a diadem upon his own head also; he also went about with a company of robbers that he had got together, and burnt down the royal palace that was at Jericho, and many other costly edifices besides, and procured himself very easily spoils, by rapine, as snatching them out of the fire. \* \* \* At this time it was that a certain shepherd ventured to set himself up for king; he was called Athrongeus. It was his strength of body that made him expect such a dignity, as well as his soul, which despised death; and besides these qualifications, he had four brethren like himself. He put a troop of armed men under each of these his brethren, and made use of them as his generals and commanders when he made his incursions, while he did himself act like a king, and meddled only with the more important affairs; and at this time he put a diadem about his head, and continued after that to overrun the country for no little time with his brethren, and became their leader in killing both the Romans and those of the king's party; nor did any Jew escape him, if any gain could accrue to him thereby."—JOSEPHUS' WARS OF THE JEWS, book 2, ch. 4.

What really was the number that attempted, during the distresses of the nation, to gain control of the masses and establish themselves in tyrannical authority, never can be known with any certainty, but, according to a credible historian, they were in all probability very great.

Yet these were literally nothing in comparison to that portion which were concealed in another direction, under those influences emanating from one and the same source of the inner nature of their minds. At the time a part had crowned themselves and were making war upon the Jews as well as against the arms of Rome, a greater number had become allied to the freebooters, and pursued a course of unrestrained crime. The latter attacked the innocent at night in their dwellings, murdered them, robbed them and burned their dwellings to the ground. They attacked those of the Roman legions who had strayed too far from camp to receive protection, murdered them and plundered their dead bodies of all effects. The defenseless condition of the Jewish army organized for the protection of the state met the same atrocious treatment. This class, at the breaking out of hostilities, was by far the most numerous of any calling in the nation, and amounting almost to a moiety of the adult male inhabitants, was in a state of unrestrained piracy, attacking, without regard to nationality or

condition, all mankind within Judea.<sup>181</sup> Being more powerful than the authorities of the law, they congregated in the city of Jerusalem, there not only robbing the most respectable people, but murdering them upon the pretense of treason to the Jews. The first officers of government whom they dispatched were Antipas, Levias and Raguel, all of royal descent.<sup>182</sup> They then began to place their own agents in positions over the people in state and church. This resulted in conflicts between the people and those who were termed robbers. But the people were led against the outlaws by Ananus, whose own character seems to have been, several years prior to this time, very similar to that of those whom he now denounced as robbers and villains.<sup>183</sup> We have seen that by his gifts, he had bribed Albinus, the procurator, and Jesus, the high priest.<sup>184</sup> He it was who while high priest, condemned James, the brother of Christ, to be stoned contrary to law.<sup>185</sup>

181 Josephus, in speaking of the moral condition of the masses at this time, observes, that "in the first place, all the people in every place betook themselves to rapine; after which they got together in bodies, in order to rob the people of the country," [the Jewish agriculturists,] "insomuch that for barbarity and iniquity those of the same nation did no way differ from the Romans; nay, it seemed to be a much lighter thing to be ruined by Romans than by themselves."—*WARS OF THE JEWS*, book 4, ch. 3, sec. 2.

182 *IBID.*, secs. 4 and 5.

183 Compare JOSEPHUS' *ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS*, book 20, ch. 9, secs. 1 and 2, with his *WARS OF THE JEWS*, book 4, ch. 3, secs. 9 and 10.

184 JOSEPHUS' *ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS*, book 20, ch. 9, sec. 2.

185 *IBID.*, sec. 7.

He had accumulated great riches during his pontificate by robbery of the people, some of whom, from want, in consequence of his act, starved to death.<sup>186</sup> But the other high priests of his time did so likewise before the breaking out of hostilities, and thus when the poorer classes of the people saw that of whatever they were the lawful owners, was taken by the prelates of the church through their greed of gain, they came to regard the offices of both state and church as positions from which the fortunate enriched themselves by fraud and oppression practiced upon the masses. And thus in those first conflicts in the city, the character of one party was but little better than that of the other. Both parties, the one by practice, the other by retrospection, looked upon the higher ecclesiastical trusts as desirable ends, possessing two distinct objects, and comprehending within their range all there were in time and eternity, inordinate riches below and everlasting happiness above. The opinions which each of the belligerent forces, in Jerusalem, had of the other, were verified by the conduct of both prior to, as well as at, the time of the civil war. Ananus and Jesus, high priests, and their leading followers, had maintained, as they thought, sufficient modesty to dissemble their purposes of life, that their real objects were partially concealed under the appearance of their



sanctity. To the characteristics of the robber and the murderer, they added that of hypocrisy. But that vulgar party, which were now endeavoring to seize upon the pontifical benefices, cannot be charged with this last element of depravity. The zealots, robbers, were under the command of those whose ancestral origin were as illustrious for piety, as that of Ananus, or of Jesus.<sup>187</sup>

But when the superior power of the high priests was about to eject the zealots from the temple, which the latter had appropriated to their own uses as a fortress and as a place of worship, the lying cunning of their leaders outwitted the chiefs of the people, Eleazar and Zacharias, through representations, which, although apparently false, yet were supported by something approaching to truth. Nor were the Idumeans slow to be convinced that the high priests and the principal citizens were about to treacherously surrender the city to the disciplined armies of the Romans. It had been known that the prelates were opposed to the war, and, although peace was preferable to a contest of arms with the world, yet the majority of the nation, in a case of hostilities, had a right to be heard on a question touching their national independence. But when the twenty thousand armed

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<sup>187</sup> See reply of Simon to the high priest, JOSEPHUS' WARS OF THE JEWS, book 4, ch. 4, sec. 4.

Idumeans (Jews) had gotten inside of the city, the true character of the nation gave a full exhibition of itself. The shocking cruelties which were then committed, would freeze the spirit of an Indian thug.

And although the Idumeans had, as long as any other tribe of the Hebrews, been thoroughly educated in all matters pertaining to their spiritual natures, they were, even in times of peace, with great difficulty restrained from the commission of murder. The slaughters of which they were guilty, at Jerusalem, extended to the innocent and to the corrupt, to infancy and to old age, to those who were suffering from disease and to those who were in the full strength of manhood and thus able to oppose them in arms. The nature of the conflict, the dead bodies in the houses and thoroughfares of the city, fully indicated the character of the Idumeans and of the zealots. The entrance of the former into the city had been effected in the night, which, when it became known to the inhabitants, created great consternation among them. The bloody brutality of this tribe was known throughout Israel to exceed that of the robbers themselves. The slightest offense, were it but a mere act of self protection, was a capital crime in the eyes of the Idumeans, and the person exercising it worthy of death without right of burial.

They took no prisoners, granted no mercy, and, as

they "spared neither age, sex, nor condition," their only concern apparently was the amount of killing they would be enabled to accomplish in the shortest period of time. "They are naturally a most barbarous and bloody nation";<sup>188</sup> "they were murderers."<sup>189</sup> These are the descriptive heads under which they were classed by their most truthful and illustrious historian. But what need has one to rely upon the generalized characteristics Josephus has given of this nation when he records their acts? From these none can come to any other determination. Of the aristocratic portion of the inhabitants in the city, they murdered twelve thousand. If we are allowed to estimate the relative proportion of rich to poor, the slaughters of the latter were at least five times that of the former. This was caused by the predisposition of the Idumeans and of the zealots for the shedding of human blood, and not in consequence of the refusal of Ananus and Jesus to permit them to enter the city during a storm. It could not be expected by them that they would be welcomed by that class which they had come armed to oppose. This is a weak and untenable position which Josephus assumed without being at all warranted by the nature of the facts. But if one suppose, as the same author relates, that they were first incited to take up arms

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<sup>188</sup> JOSEPHUS' WAR OF THE JEWS, book 4, ch. 5, sec. 1.

<sup>189</sup> *IBID.*

against the authorities of the city through the belief that the latter were about to betray the cause of the people to the Romans, he cannot arrogate to this their mad inclination to slaughter those in whom no such disposition was discovered. If Ananus and Jesus had taken precautionary measures of self defense, in which they were by all known principles justified, the aged, the infirm, the women and children had not. If the high priests, in contemplation of the unrestrained disposition of their people to cruelty and plunder, had favored the occupation of the country, or even the holy city, by the army of the Romans, there were those who knew nothing of these intentions, if they did their opinions could have added no weight whatever to the affair.

As the people, a miscellaneous assemblage, from private dwellings, of all ages and sexes, collected to ascertain the cause of excitement, when the Idumeans effected an entrance into the city, they were pressed upon and slaughtered in heaps, while women and children implored them for mercy. After such a portion of the people had been cut off as gave the government of the city into the power of the zealots, the Idumeans quitted it, returning to their own land, where they soon underwent the same fate which they had visited upon the defenseless of Jerusalem. Another band of robbers, under the command of

Simon, numbering not far from sixty five thousand, by their slaughters and conflagrations, left Idumea depopulated and a smoking desert.<sup>190</sup> So that one entire nation of outlaws perished at the hands of another as devoted to murder and plunder as itself.

Masada was likewise under the control of the same class of the Jewish nation. Throughout the entire country surrounding this city, they murdered those who did not make their escape, and then plundered their residences.<sup>191</sup> They slew at the small city of Engaddi, while the men of the place were absent at the feast of unleavened bread, "above seven hundred women and children."<sup>192</sup> The whole country surrounding Masada was left by them in complete desolation.<sup>193</sup> Every village in the vicinity was pillaged by robbers. The marauding armies that were marching through the country were so powerful that fortified cities were in danger of being taken and sacked by them. The city of Gadara was a tempting prize to the avaricious tendencies of the marauding Jews, and its wealthy citizens, knowing that their property was the price of their lives, were forced to surrender the city into the hands of the Romans to preserve both. They, however, were not in danger

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<sup>190</sup> JOSEPHUS' WARS OF THE JEWS, book 4, ch. 9, secs. 5, 3 and 7.

<sup>191</sup> *IBID.*, ch. 7, sec. 2.

<sup>192</sup> *IBID.*

<sup>193</sup> *IBID.*



from bands without the city, but were about to be overpowered and butchered by the same but hypocritical elements from within.<sup>194</sup> The fear which the inhabitants of this city had of falling into the hands of their own nationality, amounted almost to a feeling of terror, and although not remarkable considering the circumstances, disappeared at the entrance of the Romans: they welcomed them with joy.<sup>195</sup> Throughout the whole war, the unarmed feared nothing more than the savage nature of their own people. Their only refuge, for life and property, was in the protection of their political foes.

At the breaking out of hostilities, as we have already observed, about one-half of the entire population were, directly or indirectly, committed to the crimes of robbery and of murder. But after the war had progressed a year or more there was a change, not in the proclivities but in the conduct of the masses, not less than three-fourths of the nation being engaged in these pursuits. Their acts were external exhibitions of innate mental conditions which had long existed; moral hypocrisy and dissimulation were suppressed, and the crimes of which the people were guilty were but the natural language of their evil dispositions. The whole tribe of the Idumeans, with scarcely an exception,

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<sup>194</sup> JOSEPHUS' *WARS OF THE JEWS*, book 4, ch. 7, sec. 3.

<sup>195</sup> *IBID.*

were devoted fully to the slaughter and plunder of others. They were a powerful tribe, yet there were those of purer descent, of not less piety, but of more bloodthirsty tendencies, who extinguished them by the sword, appropriating their effects. Greed and cruelty were the characteristics which governed the whole Hebrew people at this period of their history. These two feelings, consequences of their corresponding primitive causes when perverted and unopposed by the subordinate condition to which the moral had fallen, produced a correlative determination of the Jewish mind to those states of active criminality by which the nation was finally expunged. A greed for gold, and an innate love of inflicting death upon whatever is possessed of life, as horrible as it may appear, were the perverted feelings to which the major part of the nation had, at length, become enslaved. Before the war was two-thirds concluded, every city in the whole land of the Jews, not in the immediate possession of the Romans, was held and controlled by Jewish robbers,<sup>196</sup> who slaughtered its people for the double purpose of plunder, and to enjoy the pleasures of witnessing the dying agonies of their victims.<sup>197</sup>

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<sup>196</sup> JOSEPHUS' WARS OF THE JEWS, book 3, 4 and 5.

<sup>197</sup> The Jews had mostly become robbers, and of them Josephus says: "They agreed in nothing but this, to kill those that were innocent."—IBID. book 5, ch. 1, sec. 5.

After the piratical portion had robbed and murdered the country people and desolated nearly the whole land, they were finally driven by the legions to the holy city, where they continued that calling to which, by the perversion of their mental powers, they had long been predisposed. Before the arrival of the legions at the walls of the city, the revolting crimes of the Jews in it fully justified the idea of searching for gross brutality, not in the animal creation, but in man himself. Their career was one of pure cruelty, without the excuse of those triflingly mitigating circumstances which usually attend the merciless life of the corsair. The nature of their phrenic condition was destructive of all else, and death followed their movements. The armed and the unarmed alike fell beneath the blows of the same blade. Death was the doom of the conqueror and the conquered. From death, in Jerusalem, none could escape, and the living envied the silent and happy state of the dead.

But it appeared to make no difference what part or class of the nation had the power in numbers, or was clothed with the civil administration backed by the militia of the realm, as the same lamentable acts were sure to result, the one and same characteristics existing in all sexes, ranks and professions. For ages external phenomena had dealt, with an unsparing hand, fatal blows to the primitive moral powers.

The day of judgment, under the natural laws, with this people had arrived; the last penalty to which they were liable could no longer be deferred; they were to be extinguished by those very faculties which they had called into active predominance.<sup>198</sup>

Having shown what were the moral qualities of the Jewish nation down to the time of its dispersion, we have only a few facts of a religious nature to add by way of contrast to the civil life of its people. We shall see by the following array of facts, in addition to those already given of the same kind, that the religious feelings of this people were in full life, strength and activity; that their veneration for the religion of their ancestors had suffered no diminution, and that they worshiped, as devotedly as any

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198 Josephus himself says, "that it was a seditious temper of our own that destroyed it, and that they were the tyrants among the Jews who brought the Roman power upon us, who unwillingly attacked us, and occasioned the destruction of our holy temple. Titus Cæsar, who destroyed it, is himself a witness who, during the entire war, pitied the people, who were kept under by the seditious, and did often delay the taking of the city, and allow time to the siege, in order to let the authors have opportunity for repentance. But if any one makes an unjust accusation against us, when we speak so passionately about the tyrants, or the robbers, or sorely bewail the misfortunes of our country, let him indulge my affections herein, though it be contrary to the rules of writing history; because it had so come to pass, that our city of Jerusalem had arrived at a higher degree of felicity than any other city under the Roman government, and yet at last fell into the sorest calamities again. Accordingly, it appears to me, that the misfortunes of all, from the beginning of the world, if they be compared to these of the Jews, are not so considerable as they were; while the authors of them were not foreigners neither. This makes it impossible for me to contain my lamentations. But if any one be inflexible in his censures of me, let him attribute the facts themselves to the historical part, and the lamentations to the writer himself only."—Preface, sec. 4, to the HISTORY OF THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM.



race can worship, the Supreme Being with all the enthusiasm that is possible under the primitive religious faculties of the mind. And also while they were the worst depraved, they were the most religious and superstitious inhabitants of western Asia or of eastern Europe.

All classes, high and low, had regularly attended upon divine service for several centuries before the expunction of the nation. They were very easily and seriously affected by those signs which were termed evil, or those omens that they supposed portended good or ill consequences to the individual or to the nation. Like the inhabitants of Europe in the the middle ages, their fears were greatly influenced by many of the accidents of life. It foretold misfortune to the person to have discovered the new moon over the left shoulder, to have turned back after departure, and more ridiculous still, to have passed a gray horse without pulling a hair out of his tail. The most educated minds of the Jews, such as Josephus', were alternately in subordination to the religious and to the animal faculties. The former is made known to us by the great confidence which Josephus placed in a dream, relating to the fall of Jotapata, his own capture by the Romans, and the elevation of the Vespasians to universal empire. He believed it was literally fulfilled that he was saved alive by the wisdom



of God, to predict future events to certain eminent persons of Rome.<sup>199</sup> But the whole people of the Jews were easily imposed upon by the prediction of false prophets. During the siege of the city of Jerusalem, toward its close, when the besieged could offer no further successful resistance to the legions, the people got upon the holy house with the firm belief that, as they had been told, they should there witness, by a providential act, their own salvation and the destruction of the Romans.<sup>200</sup>

As the facts belonging to the last days of the nation are narrated by one, in a manner which is at once reverential and superstitious; as they were indorsed by him whose mind was, perhaps, the least burdened by the superstition of his age, we have concluded to allow him to testify, in his own peculiar way, to the spiritual condition of himself and of his own nationality. In connection with the last fact given in the preceding paragraph, Josephus says: "Thus were this miserable people persuaded by these deceivers, and such as belied God himself; while they did not attend nor give credit to the signs that were so evident, and did so plainly foretell their future desolation, but like men infatuated, without either eyes to see or minds to consider, did not regard the denunciation that God made

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<sup>199</sup> JOSEPHUS' WARS OF THE JEWS, book 3, ch. 8, sec. 9.

<sup>200</sup> *IBID.*, book 6, ch. 5, sec. 2.

to them. Thus there was a star resembling a sword, which stood over the city, and a comet that continued a whole year. Thus also before the Jews' rebellion, and before the commotions which preceded the war, when the people were come in great crowds to the feast of unleavened bread, on the eighth Xanthicus, and at the ninth hour of the night, so great a light shone around the altar of the holy house, that it appeared to be bright day-time; which light lasted for half an hour. This light seemed to be a good sign to the unskillful, but was interpreted by the sacred scribes to portend those events that followed immediately upon it. At the same festival also a heifer, as she was led by the high priest to be sacrificed, brought forth a lamb in the midst of the temple. Moreover, the eastern gate of the inner temple, which was brass, and vastly heavy, and had been with great difficulty shut by twenty men, and rested upon a basis armed with iron, and had bolts fastened very deep into the firm floor, which was there made of one entire stone, was seen to be opened of its own accord about the sixth hour of the night. Now those that kept watch in the temple came hereupon running to the captain of the temple, and told him of it, who then came up hither, and not without great difficulty was able to shut the gate again. But the men of learning understood it, that the security of the holy house was dissolved of its own accord,

and the gate was opened for the advantage of its enemies. So these publicly declared, that the signal foreshadowed the desolation that was coming upon them. Besides these, a few days after the feast, on the one-and-twentieth day of the month Artemisius, a certain prodigious and incredible phenomena appeared. I suppose the account of it would seem to be a fable, were it not related by those who saw it, and were not the events that followed of so considerable a nature as to deserve such signals; for before sun-setting, chariots and troops of soldiers in their armor, were seen running about among the clouds, and surrounding of cities. Moreover, at the feast which we call Pentecost, as the priests were going by night into the inner court of the temple, as the custom was, to perform their sacred ministrations, they said, that in the first place they felt a quaking, and heard a great noise, and after that heard a sound of a great multitude, saying 'Let us remove hence.' But what is still more terrible, there was one Jesus, the son of Ananus, a plebeian and a husbandman, who, four years before the war began, and at a time when the city was in very great peace and prosperity, came to that feast whereon it is our custom for every one to make tabernacles to God in the temple, began on a sudden to cry aloud, 'A voice from the east, a voice from the west, a voice from the four winds, a voice against Jerusalem and the holy house,

a voice against the bridegrooms and the brides, and a voice against the whole people.' This was his cry as he went about by day and by night, in all the lanes of the city. However, certain of the most eminent among the populace, had great indignation at this dire cry of his, and took up the man, and gave him a great number of severe stripes; yet did not he either say anything for himself, or anything to those that chastised him, but still went on with the same words which he cried before. Hereupon our rulers, supposing, as the case proved to be, that this was a sort of divine fury in the man, brought him to the Roman procurator, where he was whipped till his bones were laid bare; yet did not he make any supplication for himself, nor shed any tears; but turning his voice to the most lamentable tones possible, at every stroke of the whip his answer was, 'Wo, wo, to Jerusalem.' And when Albinus (for he was then our procurator), asked him 'Who he was? and whence he came, and why he uttered such words?' he made no manner of reply to what he said, but still did not leave off his melancholy ditty, till Albinus took him to be a madman, and dismissed him. Now, during all the time that passed before the war began, this man did not go near any of the citizens, nor was seen by them while he said so; but he every day uttered these lamentable words, as if it were his premeditated vow, 'Wo, wo, to



Jerusalem.' Nor did he give ill words to those that beat him every day, nor good words to those that gave him food; but this was his reply to all men, and, indeed no other than a melancholy presage of what was to come. This cry of his was the loudest at the festivals; and he continued this ditty for seven years and five months, without growing hoarse or being tired therewith, until the very time that he saw his presage in earnest fulfilled in our siege, when it ceased; for as he was going the rounds upon the wall he cried out with his utmost force, 'Wo, wo, to the city again, and to the holy house.' And just as he added at the last, 'Wo, wo, to myself also,' there came a stone out of one of the engines and smote him, and killed him immediately; and as he was uttering the very same presage he gave up the ghost."<sup>20</sup> By reflections upon these facts he continues:

"Now if any one consider these things, he will find that God takes care of mankind, and by all ways possible foreshows to our race what is for their preservation, but that men perish by these miseries which they madly and voluntarily bring upon themselves; for the Jews, by demolishing the tower of Antonia, had made their temple four-square, while at the same time they had it written in their sacred oracles that 'then should their city be taken, as well



as their holy house, when once their temple should become four-square.' But now, what did most elevate them in undertaking this war was an ambiguous oracle that was found also in the sacred writings, how 'about that time one from their country should become governor of the habitable earth.' The Jews took this prediction to belong to themselves in particular, and many of the wise men were thereby deceived in their determination. Now this oracle certainly denoted the government of Vespasian, who was appointed emperor in Judea. However, it is not possible for men to avoid fate, although they see it beforehand. But these men interpreted some of these signals according to their own pleasure, until their madness was demonstrated both by the taking of the city and their own destruction."<sup>202</sup>

The foregoing chapter closes all the testimony we have to offer by way of reflections upon the Jewish mind, in disproof of an old doctrine which has been as prejudicial to the advancement of Christianity as it has been to the best interests of the human race. We now submit them, by way of contrast, to the judgment of the reader for his determination, satisfied that the evidence is ponderous and overwhelming in proof that the religious and the moral feelings are consequences of distinct and independent causes in the mind of man.

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<sup>202</sup> JOSEPHUS' WARS OF THE JEWS, book 6, ch. 5, sec. 4.

In Abraham and his descendants there was a restoration of man to his primitive morality, and it continued with them to that generation which immediately succeeded the death of Joseph. From that time forward, during their bondage in Egypt and down to their dispersion, this assumption of theology was one of the main productive elements of the great moral degeneracy of the Hebrews. The religious and the animal faculties of the mind in them were cultivated to an extraordinary degree, and, as a consequence of this supremacy, the people under them alternated between the worship of God and the murder of their fellow men. No system of culture was inaugurated designed by its nature to stimulate the feelings of justice and of compassion, and those two noble faculties, instituted by the wisdom of Divine Providence to properly adjust man in all his relations of life, perished from all influence over the mental horoscope of the Jews.

Excepting the efforts made by Socrates, there has been no change from that day to this. In lands of freedom, like the United States of America and the United Kingdom of Great Britain, the severe reflections of the press upon the injustice of individuals and the cruelty inflicted by savages and desperadoes, have had some tendency to stimulate those faculties into active vigilance. But while the old aggressive doctrine of

theology is still acting upon the religious with no influence over the moral nature, and the schools and the universities of learning are still operating upon the intellectual powers, the external phenomena are rapidly bringing the propensities forward to a position of more perfect empire over the entire soul. In the two last countries mentioned, they now overawe justice upon the bench, virtue in the pulpit and in the legislative halls of the nation. This we will demonstrate to be the case with the former when we come to trace the events which mark its decline.

The course of religion has not so much tended to direct nations to the true principles of ethics, and to impress upon them the characteristics of morality, as to endorse the prevailing sentiments of the times, whatever those sentiments might be, short of downright rejection of the authenticity and integrity of Divine revelation. This has met its undivided opposition and condemnation. During the mediæval period it was a lever in the hands of despots for the oppression of the weak; and this application of religion had become so commonly known as an auxiliary of centralized power, that "No bishop, no king," became the logic of princes. If monarchial tenets were fashionable with the nation, it became an agent to reduce those tenets to practice, arguing the "*jure divino*" of kings into public favor. If the equitable rights of man were

generally acknowledged as most desirable among a people, they had the hearty support of the church, and any abridgement of his freedom, by anti-republican laws, was a violation of the sacred books.

From the fifth to the fifteenth century, it did not prevent millions from being burnt at the stake and otherwise murdered for dissenting opinions. But from A. D. 1519, when Luther began his disputations with the Roman hierarchy, forward to the completion of the reformation, the outrages which it had perpetrated, roused the moral feelings of a portion of the white races into active life; and, as opposition begat protracted persecutions, the moral, with dissenters, continued to progress toward a condition of supremacy in the mind. This mental status, when reached in our British ancestors, discarded, in a measure, moral hypocrisy, became a support to the true principles of Christianity, proportionally enforcing the obligations man is under to the moral laws. When this partial supremacy of the moral sentiments arrived in this country, religion, by their influence, opposed the crimes of the west, and engaged in a decided opposition to slavery both north and south. But in 1820, when there was an apparent change in the condition of mind in the Americans, when the symptoms of the times warranted the belief that the moral sentiments had become subordinate to the propensities, although religion was much more popular,



and had greatly extended the power of its influence, it lent its aid to enforce and to multiply African slavery then here in existence.

Prior to 1850, the moral sentiments had been waning for two generations. Religion both favored and opposed the wars of 1812 and 1847, the last being for the acquisition of slave territory, for the ostensible object of bringing this curse into such general use as to finally extinguish the remaining sentiments of morality, which still continued to manifest an active antagonism to the injustice of slavery. This was essentially a struggle between the moral and the animal; and religion, watching the contest, followed in the wake, and sided with whichever rose to power in the government. But when, by the continued efforts of the moral sentiments, through the greater development which they had apparently acquired in 1859 and 1860, had very nearly divided the suffrages of the nation for and against slavery at the north, the political character which religion then held somewhat corresponded to the ballots of the republican and democratic parties. As the abolition proclivities of the moral faculties grew more active and embittered the feelings of the North and the South in the conflict, religion, corresponding to the sentiments in the two different sections, both supported and condemned human bondage. In the South, and to some extent in the North, slavery



was a divine institution, having been established ages before by Jehovah through the agency of the Hebrew patriarchs. He delivered the Jews into bondage to the Egyptians, to the Babylonians, and finally to the Romans. God had directed Jeremiah to say to his people, "I will cause thee to serve thine enemies in the land which thou knowest not,"<sup>203</sup> "and this whole land shall be a desolation, and an astonishment; and these nations" [the tribes of Israel] "shall serve the king of Babylon seventy years."<sup>204</sup> The slave advocates continued, "Don't the Bible say 'cursed be Canaan,' and 'servants obey your masters.'"<sup>205</sup> But as religion was divided on this question, it, on the other hand, replied through its agents and servants by citing the golden rule: "Do unto others as ye would have them do unto you"; and, "thou shalt neither vex a stranger nor oppress him."<sup>206</sup> As the controversy sharpened the animosity of the North at the arguments and garbled authorities quoted from the Bible by the party in favor of the local evil, the abolitionists denounced them in the language of Christ: "Wo unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye are like unto whited sepulchres, which indeed appear beautiful outward, but are within full of dead men's bones, and

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<sup>203</sup> JEREMIAH, ch. 17, verse 4.

<sup>204</sup> *IBID.*, ch. 25, verse 11.

<sup>205</sup> MRS. H. B. S. for it, in *UNCLE TOM'S CABIN*.

<sup>206</sup> EXODUS, ch. 22, verse 21.

all uncleanness. Wo unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye devour widow's houses, and for pretense make long prayer: therefore ye shall receive the greater damnation. Ye serpents, ye generation of vipers, how can ye escape the damnation of hell."<sup>207</sup>

But the peculiarity of the position assumed by religion on other questions was not less conspicuous.

It was but a few years ago that certain parties, not drinkers and drunkards, but temperate men, foresaw that the old system of the temperance cause was an utter failure, productive of no reform, and notwithstanding their efforts in favor of the fallen, drunkenness was increasing at a fearful pace; that unless some more powerful barrier than had been previously used were interposed to arrest its progress, the sufferings of the helpless and the innocent would be greatly multiplied, the results impossible to foresee, but of which, to say the least, the worst could but be anticipated, as intemperance was rapidly spreading to all ranks. These persons, after much careful reflection on the condition of the case, could discover but one remedy that would be effectual. The brewing and distillation in the country could be easily estopped by law; the crimes of importation and manufacture of ardent spirits could more easily be suppressed than those of larceny and murder.

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<sup>207</sup> MATTHEW, ch. 3.

Under these circumstances, not doubting the moral qualities of the masses, they organized themselves into a political party to carry this new system of reform into effect, which, when successful, would banish the suffering and misery arising from intemperance, carrying happiness and prosperity to the hearthstones of the afflicted. All that was required was an united action by a majority of the people.

Here was an opportunity for the exhibition of those great human principles, which the churches claim to be their peculiar province to foster into life and build up. Surely, said prohibitionists, most of whom were communicants of the churches, the religion of our Saviour cannot withhold its influence from a question which has as an end the purest of all earthly objects. Who, thought they, but Satan and his satellites, could oppose its progress and prevent its successful issue? It was plain that the churches must support this moral question, (if religion have the efficacy claimed for it,) or lend its power for the dissemination of crime and the worst forms of human misery. Should the chosen ground of the church be the former, (and who for a moment doubted that it would?) one of the greatest reforms would be completed—a reform not much inferior to the emancipation of African slavery itself. And after the organization of the prohibition party, what position did the churches assume on this

great question? *Mirabile dictu!* they continued in the services of political parties, corrupt politicians, and those who were occupied in vending poisonous liquors to the drunkard. Notwithstanding the appeals of the prohibition advocates to the better sense and feeling of the churches, they still continued to contribute to the orphanage and widowhood of our large cities, assisting to carry want, squalor, suffering, starvation and death into the lowly hovels of the poor.

When the churches were reminded that thousands, subject to the control of appetite, were daily sinking into their graves, and, according to the words of our Saviour, destined to be lost in a future life, prohibitionists received the flattering reply that "the cause of it is in the temperance movement. And," they continued substantially, "if persons are bound to drink themselves to death and into the displeasure of God, they must abide the consequences as of their own making." In other words, "What is that to us? see thou to that." From time to time they were implored to come forward with the might which they possessed, and assist in expelling intoxicating liquors from the land, as, in consequence, thousands of hapless children were suffering in winter from cold, and starving to death. But answer came from them, "the cause of it is in the temperance movement; for by agitation of it the question is brought into notoriety, and people



are thereby impelled to tipple, finally becoming habitual drunkards. If intoxicating liquors are purposely withheld from the public, they will obtain them somehow or other, for upon such acts of others they feel an impulse to indulge." "But, sirs, have you no sympathy for the suffering women and children." "Oh, yes! we have as much as you or your party; we would do anything for the innocently afflicted." "Then, sirs, give us a vote to dry up this fountain of evil." "Oh! it would do no good; my vote would be lost, as you can't hope to succeed. Besides, the democratic party would come into power and 'get the niggers back into slavery.' And, at all events, you will certainly fail; you cannot carry prohibition; it is a hopeless undertaking, as temperance has often been tried before in other forms, and in localities, too, where the people were bound to exterminate intemperance. Just join our party, and I trust the next legislature will do something to help the cause more than you can accomplish by yourselves."

"No, we shall not fail, we shall succeed; our cause is a just one. Likely our hold on life is as frail as your own, but so long as we do remain we will use our might in wrestling with this monster evil. So long as its operations exist to torment our souls by its generation of misery; so long as murders come to our knowledge, to which brewers, distillers, importers and



an apathetic public are contributory causes; so long as the wailings of helpless children and of broken hearted women, victims to the cruelty of your indifferent policy, continue to harrow up our feelings by their pitiful afflictions, you may expect no compromise, no peace from us, for we will oppose it till our last breath is expired. Will you not do as much as to remain neutral, not go to the polls, not vote at all? This, at least, you owe to your humanity and to the professions of your faith. Slavery is abolished; the fifteenth amendment has become a part of the constitution; there are, therefore, no vital points of contention between the republican and democratic parties. They have both served the purposes for which they were organized, their labor is finished, and they have but a formal existence, barely holding together for the benefit of time-serving politicians."

"We will not remain neutral; your party is made up of disappointed office seekers, croakers and men who look on the dark side of all questions, in consequence of soured minds produced by frustrated ambitions while members of the old parties, men who are now trying to run a party of their own for their own emolument."

As the interchange of sentiment between morality and propensity reaches this stage of development, if the dead are not raised up to rebuke the moral

hypocrisy of social power, the dialogue at all events, in all such cases usually comes abruptly to an end.

If the above be not exact quotations, word for word, of what passed between the reputed parties, they are, in substance, what actually took place between them, to the author's own personal knowledge

Though such were the attitude of almost the entire Christian membership toward this great reform movement, they soon afterward made an effort to accomplish the same end by the spiritual conversion of venders of alcohol. But it was observable that during the time "the temperance wave" was passing over the country, its leading advocates held bitter feelings against prohibition, which tended to render their fidelity to the cause of temperance, if not directly doubtful, at least somewhat ambiguous. It, however, helped prohibition, as many of the leading clergy throughout the country endorsed political action.

While religion has been increasing in strength by additional wealth and membership; while church communicants have in number gained on a growing population, there has been in the body of the churches, with their communicants, such a degeneration of morals, that it perfectly staggers one by its magnitude, clouding his feelings with the saddest reflections. It not only attracts the attention of the student of passing events, but of the press and of the more advanced

clergy of the day. And the religious press, bound not to be gagged by the general cry of progression, seem to have some understanding of our great degeneration in morals, to which they give corresponding expressions. The following, from one of the best and also one of the most liberal religious periodicals of the times, appears to see the want of efficacy in religion to check this growing dearth. Under the head of "The Religion we want," it says: "We want a religion that bears heavily, not only on 'the exceeding sinfulness of sin,' but on the exceeding rascality of lying and stealing. A religion that banishes small measures from the counters, small baskets from the stalls, pebbles from the cotton bags, clay from the paper, sand from the sugar, chiccory from the coffee, alum from the bread, and water from the milk cans. The religion that is going to save the world will not put all the big strawberries at the top, and all the little ones at the bottom. It will not make one-half a pair of shoes of good leather, so that the first shall redound to the maker's credit, and the second to his cash. It will not put Jouvin's stamp on Jenkins' kid gloves; nor make Paris bonnets in the back room of a Boston milliner shop; nor let a piece of velvet that professes to measure twelve yards, come to an untimely end in the tenth; nor a spool of sewing-silk that vouches for twenty yards, be nipped in the bud at fourteen and a

half; nor all-wool delaines and all-linen handkerchiefs be amalgamated with clandestine cotton; nor coats made of old rags pressed together be sold to the unsuspecting public for real broadcloth. It does not put bricks at five dollars a thousand into chimneys it contracts to build with seven dollar material; nor smuggle white pine into floors that have paid for hard pine; nor leave yawning cracks in closets where boards ought to join; nor daub the ceilings that ought to be smoothly plastered; nor make window blinds of slats that cannot stand the wind, and paint that cannot stand the sun, and fastenings that may be looked at but on no account touched. The religion that is going to sanctify the world, pays its debts. It does not consider that forty cents returned for one hundred cents given, is according to the gospel, though it may be according to the law. It looks on a man who has failed in trade, and who continues to live in luxury, as a thief.”<sup>208</sup>

We can imagine that others may suppose this developed phase of religion, which has run through all ages, manifesting the same fatal tendency to endorse the popular sentiments, and embrace the vices and crimes of the times, is not religion at all, but is only characteristic of those who profess and do not. But

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<sup>208</sup> MORNING STAR, January 14, 1874. By this number quoted from THE CHRISTIAN.

this is admitting the question. So far as religion causes man to repent "from the error of his ways," (from not reverencing God, and for being indifferent to the worship of Him in the spirit,) it is true in theory and in fact.

The position which the clergy hold assumes, without evidence, that the religious primitive elements are productive of moral impressions, when those religious faculties are active on spiritual objects. But we hold that one faculty does not perform the functions of another; that the religious and the moral faculties act as independent causes, nowise necessarily involved or related, their operations resulting in different effects. That they, in their primitive constitution, being thus distinct, thus independent functionally and constitutionally, are not receptive of the same external influence. The one does not produce those characteristics which are referable to the other as primitive cause. It necessarily follows that a system of instruction which is applicable to the development of the one is not to the other.

The question is not whether religion be true, but has it been properly applied, subjectively to designed objects, to the adapted, to such as are its receiving elements, to those mental powers which, by the wisdom of God, were adjusted for its reception and evolution. We say not; that the ground covered by the clergy in



all ages, and to which they still tenaciously cling, has been too broad, and, to say the least, is wholly unsupported by Divine revelation. The moral and the religious histories of the Hebrews and Carthaginians show conclusively that their claims to the broad efficacy of religion, have not the shadow of a foundation upon which to repose their assumption.

The moral commandments in the Bible were addressed to the moral sentiments of the mind through the intellect, and not to the religious. A being that is destitute of predominant moral qualities, is not competent to obey moral injunctions. But Creative Wisdom has given man an intellect, by the operations of which, if he be destitute of sufficient moral causes, he can work out his own temporal salvation. Any portion of human organization upon which culture is intelligently directed, can be made to overcome hereditary defects, and hence the condemnation of man should be, not so much for the crimes which he commits, as for the neglect to cultivate the moral faculties to such capacity as enables him to obey moral laws. This culture cannot be wrought by homiletic discourses through the inducements which they contain of future rewards and punishments, nor by social ostracism, nor by any of those religious exercises which produce excited operations of the spiritual feelings, nor by firm resolves

and stubborn determinations. Each of these, the religious and the moral, faculties, being in itself a positive organization, is capable of positive development when subjected to scientific principles.

The ecclesiastical order has had control of the white races for thirteen centuries, and the saddest consequences have been the result. The churches have not only failed to protect the moral qualities of their communicants, but the very clergy itself, at times during that long period, has exhibited the very worst qualities of the outlaw. It has not only failed to moralize the world, but has been wholly unable to preserve itself from great moral degeneracy.

If the qualities of religious devotees are, at times with the non-professing world, thus in frequent and rapid progress of demoralization, what relevancy is there in talking of the "conversion of the people," when, as is supposed, virtue will ensue and evil disappear?

Such being, then, the hopelessness of religion to arrest those growing vices, which now so seriously threaten the dissolution of society by debauching the greater portion of its members, our attention must be directed to some other method by which the people can be protected and the republic preserved,

## CHAPTER VI.

### GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

Significance of the Mental Faculties drawn from their Organic Qualities—Their Primitive State—Causes of Degeneracy—Course of Degeneracy—Moral Condition of Carthage, of Greece, of Rome and of western Asia—Demoralization of Rome inherited, through modern European nations, by settlers of North America—Enquiry into the Depravity of Man, to ascertain if that Depravity be not a Derangement of the Moral Powers—Causes which tended to Restore the Moral Sentiments in the inhabitants of Great Britain—Improved Condition with Defects transmitted to Pioneers of the Thirteen Colonies—The present Degeneracy considered a relapse into that Derangement which attended our Remote Ancestors in the Middle Ages—Necessity of so treating the Mind to effect for it, in the United States, a healthy tone of action, by which the Equitable Features of the Republic may be rendered Enduring Establishments.

To finish up the introduction, it remains for us to make some enquiry into that phrenic condition of which we find that our ancestors were possessed at the time of their resistance to the aggressive measures of the House of Brunswick. This will embrace a very short chapter. We shall attempt to discover the mental status of the nation at its inception, and afterward, in a subsequent part of this volume, by retrospection of events, its declination, which, we verily believe, has

been more rapid than that of any other power which authentic histories record.

But in order to fully understand that status, it is, we think, first necessary to become acquainted with that mental condition at which, in the lapse of ages, the human mind had arrived. This will shed some light upon the question of the hereditary qualities of those European races which are now flooding this country as well as our own, and indicate how far we are possessed of the mental deformity which characterized the inhabitants of Rome just before its final overthrow. By contrasting the primitive morality of man also to that which the human mind now occupies, we shall likewise be somewhat able to determine the departure, and finally approximate to that degree of alienation to which the mental powers, by various causes, have been subjected. It will also show, we hope, that constitutional governments, unlike organic bodies, are not subject to the laws of decay.

The very fact of man's having moral elements is evidence that they were designed by Creative Wisdom to govern all the rest of his mental nature. For if this were not so, why were the feelings of justice and of compassion created, unless it were the design to suppress the feelings of injustice, and those other perverted and anti-compassionate feelings which give rise to acts of cruelty. If it were designed for man

to be just, it was not that he should be unjust; if it were intended for him to be compassionate, it was not that he should be pitiless. These two positions are antithetical and cannot, therefore, be held by one individual at the same time; the one or the other he must surrender. And again, if he surrender the one he must hold the other, as he cannot deny both, nor can he adopt an equal modification of them. The question, therefore, calls on us to elect, first dropping all conceived prejudices, which we shall consider most reasonable, whether man's moral nature was designed to be governed by his animal, or whether the latter was to be controlled by the former; or, if an individual think he can take a tenable position between the two extremes, whether he was created the sport of circumstances, in such manner as to alternate under the control of the animal and then the moral; or if he had, at the time of his first organization, certain laws of mind as well as of physical life by which he should be governed and protected.

The natural laws are not, in themselves an evil but a positive blessing, nor are they in their effects, but there is an evil in their misapplication. Thus in their application to the growth of certain genera of animals, the latter can be improved in size, beauty, speed, strength, in quality of edible fiber or of adipose substance, by the wisdom of man; or they can be caused



to degenerate in size, beauty, speed, strength and all those other good qualities with which man is now pretty thoroughly acquainted, until those laws generate deformity, or completely extinguish some one or all of them. The latter view, when carried out in practical life, may be said, with truth, to be an evil application of the natural laws, because, principally, their effect is detrimental to the interests of man as well as to the proper being of the animal species. It may also be said that such is a misapplication of the natural laws. But if left to themselves those same laws will generate perfection. It is well known to all that they will restore injured parts of organic life, such as broken limbs, wounds of flesh, and diseased bodily organs. And thus the natural laws not only endeavor to preserve whatever they apply to, but struggle to correct the errors into which man has fallen, by restoring that which his carelessness has injured, or attempted to destroy through desire. Although there be no analogy between mental faculties and physical organs, yet there is one in the application of the natural laws to the operation of their growth and decay. This is all we seek to claim of the analogy.

When, therefore, man was created, every faculty of the mind, and every organ of the body, was made in such manner as to be regulated by certain laws, establishing

its growth, and more especially its preservation in a certain relation of harmony to all other portions of his mental and physical powers. And, taking him altogether, he was impressed with a determinable and intelligible constitution in all of his outward expressions of features and bodily organizations. And hence it seems but reasonable for us to conclude that, whatever faculties of the mind and organs of the body there are, it was the design of Providence that they should be in the keeping of certain rules of action, and not alternate under the mild sway of the moral and then under the violence of passion, which, through such an organization, would subject man to the sport of circumstances. If it were not, therefore, intended in the beginning that the rest of the affective faculties of the mind should be controlled, at one time by the moral, and at another by the animal, faculties, it must, per force of reason, have been designed by Nature, that either the moral or the animal, the one or the other, class, should exercise the functions of sovereign control at all times, exclusive of the other, except a subordinate condition, like the rest of the faculties, at which, at the moment of creation, it was placed.

It evidently, then, not being the design that the two should exist in equilibrium, and influence the destiny of man *pro rata* to their mutual relation, could it have been intended that the animal faculties should

be placed in actual position of supreme authority over the rest of the entire metaphysical nature of man? This is an important question. And first of all let us make a short inquiry into the essential natures of the animal faculties. To make the question more readily understood, we may say that it would have been superfluous for the Unseen Power to have prepared a record containing the uses to which are applied every organ, every faculty in the animal creation, and more especially those which are proper to man. External constitution in the material world, we repeat, plainly and fully impresses our understanding with the definite character of every object with which man comes in contact. For example, the web-foot of the duck indicates to the naturalist that Nature adapted its possessor for aquatic elements. So, too, large nerves of motion connected to proportionate wings, instruct him that the organization to which they belong was intended for a bird of flight. But when the web-foot and the large nerves of motion are joined to wings which maintain their due proportion, they form a compound organization by which the naturalist is apprised that it is both a water fowl and a bird of flight. And thus it is by a method of observation in the characteristics of particulars, that philosophers rise to conclusions upon general laws governing beings in the organic world. By a similar method,

it is not only very possible, but very probable, that we can determine, *not by outward structure*, but by internal primitive quality, the position which the animal faculties occupy in the empire of mind. Let us inquire into the constituent elements of those faculties, which elements we, perhaps, cannot comprehend by external structure, but can by outward acts. It is the duty of one to acquire sustenance for the whole being, both mental and physical; of one to ingest the food which the first has supplied; of one to execute and carry into effective operations the will of the whole mind; of one to continue the species; of one to combat and overcome the difficulties with which the pathway of man is constantly beset; and of one to inform us, with a sort of instinctive penetration, of those combinations of external circumstances to which, if we were not adjusted by some internal monitor, might more frequently involve us in disaster, and as frequently blast our hopes.<sup>1</sup> These are the principal elementary properties of which the animal faculties are composed. It will readily occur to the mind of any reader of ordinary sagacity, that the constituent qualities entering into their composition are limited, have a determinate function, are particular, and not general, in the primary nature of their several activities.

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<sup>1</sup> It will here be understood that we adopt the nomenclature and definitions given by phrenologists. See former part of this work, ch. 1 and 2.

**A**cquisitiveness supplies man with the necessities of life, but, under perverted action, surrounds its possessor with superabundance, adorning his person and belittling his name with those foolish titles and ornaments which bespeak for the wearer the contracted nature of his mental being. The function of the second is to refurnish the exhausted vital powers with those substances which are required to support life. The office of the third is to carry into effect the intentions of which the individual, at the time, is possessed: under perverted action, it is tinctured with the bitterness of hatred, is revengeful, and not infrequently commits acts of murder. The object of the fifth has been sufficiently stated above: when changed from its legitimate sphere to one of irregular activity, it indulges in feuds and wars. The functional nature and essential primitive qualities of the fourth and sixth, have been fully explained in the manner of their definition.<sup>2</sup> And hence it must be seen without further explication that the several faculties have no superintending significance, and were, therefore, placed by nature in a subordinate station to some other higher and more general internal power.

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<sup>2</sup> The names of these faculties, for with their anatomy we have nothing to do, sometimes called by phrenologists, propensities, are Acquisitiveness, Alimentiveness, Destructiveness, Amativeness, Combativeness and Secretiveness. See PHRENOLOGY, OR THE DOCTRINE OF THE MENTAL POWERS, by J. G. SPURZHEIM.



It has been stated in the former part of this work, that the intellectual faculties, in their function, occupy a subordinate position like the propensities. But of these and the religious faculties, it has been proven that they, in the history of their acts among the Carthaginians, the Hebrews, and the Greeks, have no more than a particular and limited sphere of activity. But if this be admitted of them, and still claimed by the votaries of these systems of error that they exercise moral functions, we repeat that it has been fully proven and completely established, that while the one, and the other, were the most amply developed by culture, they licensed the animal faculties to the commission of outrageous wrongs and horrid cruelties. Had the religious and the intellectual faculties possessed any constituent elements of morality, the feelings of justice and compassion had certainly suppressed the wrongs which the propensities perpetrated.

But the elementary primitive qualities of the moral powers have both a particular and a general scope over the operations of the mind. It is the province of one (conscientiousness) to see that justice accompanies and enters into the qualities of every act which follows as a consequence of individual existence. From the simplest relations in private, to those of the most complicated in public, life, in the hovel, and in the legislative chambers of nations, every one is conscious

that, notwithstanding its degenerate condition, less or more impression is produced by it upon the feelings of the law-maker, and upon those of the boor. It adds some ingredient, however small, to the speculative calculations of the merchant, to the skill of the physician, to the dextrous sagacity of the lawyer, to the acts of the clergy, of the farmer, artizan, and, in fact, it enters into the operations of all classes, ranks and professions known in the world. These are facts which none can dispute, and hence need no further treatment to bring them to every one's understanding as recognized truths. If there be such an element as justice in the human mind, which none can doubt, there is one which has a general<sup>3</sup> scope in its operations, effecting at once, by way of direct government, the simplest and the most complicated problems of metaphysical action.

There is one other phrenic power of a fundamental characteristic, to which we are much indebted, notwithstanding our course in the past has had a tendency to destroy, and has, to a very considerable degree, extinguished its influence over our perverted or fallen condition. Benevolence expresses the abstract character of the constituent elements which enter into the peculiarities of its constitution. It has been felt

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<sup>3</sup> In the sense in which this term is here used, we desire to be understood as meaning control over the operations of all the mental powers, universal and not common in its import to the mental elements of any one mind. What is true of the term of one mind, is universally so to all.

in different degrees by most all mankind. Its action is antagonistic to that of those faculties which, when perverted, gloat in the perpetration of cruelty, revel in mockery at the wailings of a broken heart, and are wholly indifferent in witnessing the agonizing pangs of their victims. Its effects in normal conditions are prodigious, softening or changing the action of the harsher faculties, forcing them to contribute their mite to alleviate the woes of earth, and to extend universal tolerance to the conflicting opinions of mankind on the great variety of subjects upon which they are divided. The two last faculties, taken singly or together, have not only a particular scope, but a general superintendence over the whole conduct of the individual. They are internal monitors, given by Providence, or adapted by nature, to carry an impression of the elements of justice and compassion into the qualities of every act of every human being, and that, too, was designed to accompany him during his entire passage from "his cradle to his grave." Under subordination to the propensities, they give rise to dissimulation, to hypocrisy, and to fraud in the conduct of persons, of societies, and of nations. They clothe the individual with power to assume, at his pleasure, all those attributes which are directly referable to their action, by which he is enabled to practice his craft upon his fellow. While societies have the appearance of

virtue, and denounce, under the sanctity of this garb, the errors of the fallen, they secretly practice their vices. It is now well known to all educated minds that to successfully direct the affairs of state, it is first necessary to master all possible positions which dissimulation may assume.

Thus having traced, and we hope satisfactorily, the moral faculties, by an investigation into the bearing of their elementary properties, to the genesis of their primitive condition, we have arrived at a stage or chapter at which it was our desire, if it be consistent with truth, to draw some conclusions with reference to man's position past and present. It has been proven that the intellectual and the religious faculties have no moral action; and shown also, that the animal faculties have but a particular and determinate function to perform. And it has, by an exhibition of their qualities, been established that the moral powers have a directive action upon all the other faculties of which the mind is composed.

This was the condition in which man existed in the primitive ages, and to it his inward, as well as his outward, deportment corresponded in all relations of the internal and the external world. To this perfect moral position are not to be imputed the different phases of deception, hypocrisy and fraud which were characteristic of succeeding ages. During this state



of the mental powers, man was perfectly rational, exhibiting none of those extremes of feelings which denote a want of harmony and of normality of mind now so common to all the different races of mankind. In the course of these essays it has appeared as most probable that the first fall of the moral elements from their supreme position occurred among the later inhabitants of primitive times by deformity at birth. In the next generation this departure was increased by the effects of external phenomena emanating from the same natal deformity.

It is most probable, also, that some sort of religious ceremony and theological instruction which, by the errors of its oracles, went beyond the designs of its origin, assuming that the system contained everything necessary for the best interests of man, began its culture of the spiritual feelings, and thus developed them at the sacrifice of the moral, by an omission of all discipline of the latter. That this was the course of the sacerdotaly we have the best evidence for believing, as we find it to have been their conduct in the earliest recorded ages which are authentic. This system of controlling and cultivating the mental powers must have had an earlier time for its origin than that which is mentioned in either sacred or profane history. In other words, its beginning must have antedated by several centuries the period of its narrated action.



About two thousand years before the Christian era, it was already established and bore the appearance of an organized system in Egypt, in every nation of central and of western Asia. It had penetrated and become a durable institution in all the half-civilized tribes which were known to the intellectual classes of the Egyptians, of the Hebrews and of the Persians. It held a power second to none but that of the hereditary chieftains of the tribes and nations of the east, of the west, of the north and of the south. From the completion of its systematic organization it manifested great energy of action, became productive of enormous culture to the spiritual feelings, and finally resulted in the superstition of all classes. Not very modest in its presumptions, it put forward claims for effecting a higher terrestrial condition for man by his manifest moral improvement. While it thus pretended to do all for his best earthly interest, it contributed to extinguish every one but his bare hope in eternal life. From the time the ecclesiastical establishments had become permanent down to 700 B. C., a period of more than thirteen centuries, the moral powers became the victims of external phenomena and theological assumption. Defective hereditary moral elements, external phenomena and ecclesiastical dogmatism combined in their operations, producing a continuing injury to man's highest and noblest powers. There was no

accession of any importance to the ranks of these three causes, until the development of philosophy in the Hellenic states.

For thirteen centuries, at least, we know that the moral elements sustained an uninterrupted contest against three opposing forces for their own restoration to the mental supremacy of the primitive ages. Although they were constantly lessened in their influence, they could not well be wholly extinguished from being, and were destined to receive redoubled opposition down to the time of the fall of the Roman empire in the west and the establishment of the papacy. At length, by the study of philosophy and the rigid culture flowing from it, a fourth, an external, element was added to this compound antagonism, and although this new auxiliary directed its operations to a new field, to the intellectual, it rendered, in this great conflict of constituent elements, the waning position of the moral faculties not the less critical and mortal. Three phenomena, having labored vigorously for thirteen centuries, had given not the least evidence of decay, but had, on the contrary, increased the weight of their influence by time and activity. But when the fourth element added its rapid action to the former number, the disappearance of the moral was so marked that it becomes the distinguishing feature in the history of those ages. From the time of this

junction of Grecian philosophy to those causes already mentioned, down to the third century before Christ, Babylon was in ruins, the other powerful monarchies of western Asia had hopelessly fallen, gross superstition and intellectual darkness reigned in silence around the monuments of Egypt, and the political institutions of Greece and of Carthage were, comparatively, in dust and in ashes. Oriental bigotry and conceit were confounded in their political calculations, could not comprehend the reasons why western barbarism had triumphed over eastern piety. Ignorant of the true sources of government and the causes of their perpetuity, they marveled at the mysterious ways which the wisdom of the gods had in disposing of the prosperity and magnificence of powerful kingdoms. This conquest of the east by the west was one of deeper significance than the mere victory of one political state in battle over that of another: to the defeated it was a blast that all time could not heal. Desolation preceded rather than followed the footsteps of the warrior; ruined buildings and devastated estates making themselves prominent in the memory of the historian. The desolation was a complete waste of those elements upon which alone civil society and constitutional government can be either founded or maintained. There was no prospect of their revival without a new creation.

Within three centuries from the beginning of the sixth before Christ, the proud master, the haughty noble, the king of kings, of Asia, were at the feet of the rude inhabitants of Europe. But at the year one of the Christian era, it will be observed, that these causes had proceeded farther westward than the western boundary of Greece, and farther southward than the southern shore of the Mediterranean, had penetrated Europe and Africa; Greece, Syracuse, and the other nations of the Mediterranean, were dependent on Rome, and the plow of formality had given the final touches of annihilation to the last seat of opulence, of magnificence, of learning, and of power in the south. Accustomed to think only of the ways of acquiring wealth to satisfy their ambitions and passions, this doomed people did not understand the causes which, although they had been witnesses of them for seven hundred years, had leveled nation after nation. Although Rome, by the forty-fifth year before Christ, is said to have conquered the world, that, which had ruined the east and the south, had already begun its operations at its capital, and the equitable rights of the republic had given place to the inequitable might of the empire. But before this political crisis in the republic of Rome, the rigid moral principles inducted into the minds of youth, by parental instruction, had, for several centuries, preserved them from



corrupting principles, had resisted the action of external phenomena, and the encroachments of a defective religious instruction, by keeping the moral raised to an equilibrium with the spiritual feelings. As long as this mental condition existed, the liberty of the state was in no great danger from the ambition of any of its own citizens, for the violent action of the propensities was in part suppressed. But the latter, in times of danger, by being thus partially subjected to the influence of the moral, became a support to the state; and, however selfish, however unjust and despotic all must consider it, it was under this very mental condition that the Romans performed their greatest conquests, and finally subdued the greater part of the habitable earth. At the beginning of the third century before Christ, Grecian philosophy and the effeminate customs of the east and the south, had made no very considerable advancement among the inhabitants of Rome.

Toward the close of the last half of this century, there was a change, and the great question which weighed most upon the minds of mankind of the intelligent world, was the direction from which, in future times, laws were likely to emanate to restrain man's free action, whether from the south or from the north, whether the ruthless ambition of the former was to triumph over the rude virtues of the latter. Would Rome fall by conquest, or would Carthage be subdued.



But the sequel to the solution of this difficult problem soon determined that both had fallen, it terminating against the latter no more than against the former. The African dominions of Carthage were the abode of men whose mental powers were deranged; their higher nature had fallen in subjection to their lower; their prosperity was one of the latter and not of the former. At the breaking out of hostilities of the second Punic war, Carthage was a great madhouse. And when she transported her armies into the vicinity of Rome, the mental diseases with which the Carthaginians were afflicted, infected the Romans. The corrupting principles of the former had not made those impressions on the virtuous qualities of the latter in the first Punic war, which they were destined to receive in the second. It was in the second that Rome received a stab which, as an external cause, without the aid of the diverting tendencies of intellectual culture, must have, in the end, proved mortal, not to her independence only, but to her freedom also. All tendencies to fidelity, to chastity, and to that noble system of economy for which the Romans had ever been most remarkable, were sadly shaken by the corrupt and profligate manners of the Carthaginians. The sixteen years which the latter continued on the territory of the former, in the vicinity of their capital, were sufficient to produce lasting impressions upon the

minds of the young and middle-aged generations then in existence, and to give a direct and powerful determination to the feelings of their minds.<sup>4</sup> During this sixteen years in which the worst passions in the people of both powers were constantly exerted and kept in the greatest activity, there was a great change in the conduct of those Romans who lived in proximity to the scene of conflict or partook in its strife. It was in this manner that the vices of the south began, and continued to bear, month after month, and year after year, on the animal faculties of the Romans, cultivating them into such an abnormal condition, that they were, by the close of the war, raised to such a permanent position over the moral, as to become ever after productive of naught but those crimes and vices which, before, had been more properly limited to the south in this portion of the west. But as the Roman people were nearly all immediately engaged in this conflict of independence, for the second Punic war involved this question, the corrupting vices of the south extended their blighting influences to the great masses of the nation.

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<sup>4</sup> It will be seen that this period would extend the last part of middle life to the borders of old age, and that of youth to middle age, by which, in all probability, any people like the Romans, whose virtues had been barely sufficient to repress a disposition for the commission of crime by that of conquest, there would be decided difference in the conduct of the two generations before the commencement of the war and after it had closed. These two generations would form a very large class from which the succeeding generations would inherit their habits of thought and modes of feeling, and strive to imitate them in the false glory of a military life.

After these positive influences had stood and continued to act upon the propensities of the Romans for sixteen years, their moral feelings were to a great extent extinguished, and, by consequence the foundations of the republic were destroyed. Although the time which the political form was destined to remain must be considered to have been uncertain, the causes of the death of its internal qualities were already secure. But the political government was of small consideration when compared with those evil qualities which the Romans, by nature, were destined to transmit to succeeding generations. This is the question which more immediately concerns us, for, however remote it may be considered, however humiliating the fact may be, we came by lineal descent from some portion of the degenerated inhabitants of the Roman empire.

The bad principles of the Carthaginians only ceased to be when the sources of their origin had come to an end. When Carthage was annihilated and its people had perished, the ill example of their conduct no longer held an educating influence over the minds of mankind. But before their mortality they had given root to a plant and cultivated it in a northern clime, which was destined to bear the most bitter fruit to the inhabitants of Rome and modern Europe. Their evils survived

them, and if not with all the force of African maturity, they were born, partly developed, and rapidly growing to such proportions as to bid fair to as fully deprave the north as they had the south. Before Carthage disappeared from among nations, causes had been planted by her in Rome, and there fostered with such care, that they became permanent, formidable and generative in their position, producing the saddest consequences to Roman posterity in succeeding ages.

When, by the expunction of Carthage, Rome was without a rival, the principles of conquest, (might makes right,) which had ever been the doctrine of the former, became the guiding star of the latter, and she accordingly directed her arms to the three remaining quarters of the globe. The shattered remains of two universal empires, Babylon and Persia, and the populations of those less formidable states of which they had formerly been composed, were doomed again to undergo the formalities of conquest to delusively flatter the vanities of Rome by their testimony, not to the potency, but to the frailty and general moral debility which had seized upon the vital life of the republic, and was rapidly drawing its existence to a close. Although the effeminate manners of the Medes,<sup>5</sup> and it is ventured that of the Babylonians

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<sup>5</sup> "Gradual degeneracy of the Persians."—XENOPHON'S CYROPÆDIA.



also, were the principal causes of the immediate degeneracy of the Persians before the death of Cyrus, and, the last having given a final polish to the wretched character of the Greeks by the conquests of Alexander, an aggregation of the vices of these three powers was, by the senseless course of Rome, to be concentrated upon its people, and shall it be said, what the Romans thought it to be, for their glory? when every student knows, that this conquest of Asia and Grecia by Rome added another ingredient poison to the life of the republic and to the vital happiness of its people. And thus by her conquests Rome became the receptacle of all the evil that was known and practiced in a world which had already fallen by its own corruption, and, in this western capital, the infectious elements began the work of death, and that decomposition of those moral powers which had heavily marked its pathway among the inhabitants of the east and the south. It was after the propensities had been elevated to a position of supremacy over the moral, after the bare predominant influence which the latter had previously held over the former, had been entirely shaken and cast to a lower and subordinate condition to the animal faculties, that the latter became permanent and generative, supplying themselves with those other external agencies which, although not necessary to complete the desolation of the internal world, would



be required to more rapidly forward the expunction of the moral faculties from the mental powers of the Romans.

Political organizations being but the effects of the mental powers, it follows that the great variety of civil governments is a perfect denotation of the conditions in which the mind has been formed in different countries. Democratic and republican governments spring from those faculties of the mind which produce acts of justice in the external world. Monarchical and aristocratical ones arise from purely selfish feelings, are enforced by the same authority, having no other basis upon which to repose their security than the power of the sword, and no other claims to existence than that which "might makes right."

The principles of the centralized and despotic governments of the Orient, as well as their general systematic depravity, were cherished and finally absorbed by the Romans as desirable ends to satisfy the selfishness of their fallen nature. Love of self throughout the republic, with the fall of the moral, had triumphed over that of country.† Those feelings which form attachment to places of nativity, had relatively become weaker, and as the empire took the

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† About the age of Christ, contemplating the vices of the people, Livy observes that "Of late years, indeed, opulence has introduced a greediness of gain, and the boundless variety of dissolute pleasures has created in many a passion for ruining themselves and all around them."—BAKER'S TRANSLATION.

place of the republic, it is evident that sound patriotism had suffered an entire overthrow in this great elementary conflict. All the domestic relations of the Romans had become lightly regarded by them before the usurpation of the republic, every class being infected by the reckless, profligate, and lecherous manners which prevailed among the effete inhabitants of Greece, Carthage, and western Asia. The equitable pecuniary relations between man and man were disregarded; the natural bonds between parents and children were partially dissolved; marriage vows, sincerely made at the altar, generally became annulled by subsequent violations; and the feeling which the people had formerly entertained for the welfare of the republic, had become second to individual interests and sordid ambitions. Dishonesty, instead of honesty, in business transactions; disobedience, instead of obedience, to lawful authority; infidelity, instead of fidelity, to the marital contract; positive cruelty, instead of compassion; and, in addition to these, a base ambition, which the people then had the doubtful intelligence to eulogize, forced all classes to struggle for those positions and that wealth which would gratify the vilest of their passions; all these had become the predominant qualities of the Romans before the empire rose to power upon the ruins of the republic. It was under the collected, united, and concentrated action of

all the vices that had ever been generated in Egypt, Greece, Carthage, and western Asia, that the mental faculties of the people of Rome became disarranged in their organized action, and deranged in the function of their original design. Grecian philosophy had, to some extent, monopolized the attention or action of the mentality of the higher classes, and religion had extended its influence over the masses by multiplying the number of the gods, thus increasing the objects of worship. It would be somewhat strange if, among a people such as the Romans had become, the fashion of religion did not correspond to the advances of the age, if there would not be some change in the objects of religious regard to which the people bowed the knee; that the shrine of Venus would be better patronized than that of Minerva; those of Medea, Midas, and Mercury, than those of Astræa, Nemesis, and Æacus.

Much has been written by historians upon the crimes and vices of the emperors of Rome, and by making their names prominent in depravity, the condition of the masses is entirely overlooked by the reader, or, if thought of at all, they are supposed to be victims to the cruelty of centralized power. The turpitude of the imperial monsters was but a spontaneous outgrowth of the general corruption which existed in the nation.

Having established the fall of the moral powers

among the inhabitants of Rome, and, as every student of history well knows that the mental faculties of the Europeans continued in the same moral darkness, notwithstanding the efforts of Christianity, down to and during the middle ages, it remains, as has been observed, to draw some conclusions with reference to man's mental condition. This may enable us, when the history of the United States is reached, to comprehend the manner in which he has been treated in the past, and what reliance, in his present condition, can be placed upon his course in the future.

For many years the author of these pages, while reading ancient and modern history, was affected to sadness and mortification at the wickedness which the race has manifested in every age and nation. Feelings, too, of more lasting consequences than those of sorrow have dropped the records of man's past career from perusal, leaving oppressions which were sure to be repeated upon the resumption of the course. These soon led to the enquiry, was man, in the beginning, predisposed to that depravity and those miseries to which his own depositions bear testimony? Having given a negative answer in the first part of this chapter, we invite the reader to a serious and candid investigation into that condition in which man appears to be, and put the dependent and final question, is this condition one of insanity?

And first it is necessary to understand the meaning of the term insanity. Of this we may be aided by a comprehension of its antithetical one, sanity. Webster defines this latter term as a "condition or quality of being sane; soundness or healthiness of body or mind, especially the latter." Again, he says of its adjective sane, "In a sound condition; not disordered or shattered; especially not disordered in intellect; in one's right mind, or of sound reason; sound, healthy, underanged."<sup>6</sup> Therefore insanity must be defined, according to Webster, as being "a quality or condition" of unsoundness or unhealthiness of body or mind, "especially the latter." And of its adjective we may say, in unsound condition, disordered or shattered. And again of the term derangement (used nowadays as synonymous with insanity), as a substantive, meaning an "act of deranging, or state of being deranged; disordered, especially mental disorder; insanity, disarrangement, confusion, embarrassment, irregularity, disturbance, lunacy, madness, delirium, mania; see insanity."<sup>7</sup> Insanity is defined by him as a state of "unsoundness of mind, derangement of intellect; lunacy, madness, derangement, alienation, aberration, mania, delirium, frenzy,

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<sup>6</sup> WEBSTER'S NATIONAL PICTORIAL DICTIONARY, pages 637 and 638, the word "intellectual" by Webster, being general and meaning mental, applies to the whole mental powers.

<sup>7</sup> *IBID.*, page 195.



monomania, dementia. Insanity is the generic term for all such diseases; lunacy has now an equal extent of meaning, though once used to denote periodical insanity; madness has the same extent, though originally referring to the rage created by the disease; derangement, aberration, alienation, are popular terms for insanity; delirium, mania and frenzy denote excited states of the disease.”<sup>8</sup> These are the definitions given by Webster, and are very near correctly abridged from the best standard works on the subject from the old school. Yet it is our duty to rely on the definitions of those mostly who have made insanity a life-long study, and combine with experimental knowledge a thorough understanding of the mental powers. By this method we would be better enabled to reach truth and reason. It is, therefore, thought best by us to give Dr. Spurzheim’s definition nearly in full, it corresponding better with the advance of philosophy and science than any work of the kind with which we are acquainted. It is as follows: “Insanity deprives an individual of the rights of society, and often involves property, conjugal and other relations; it is subject to various inconveniences of the greatest consequence, which certainly are sufficient motives to examine it with more accuracy than hitherto has been done. Insanity might be

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<sup>8</sup> WEBSTER’S NATIONAL PICTORIAL DICTIONARY, page 385.

defined an aberration of the manifestations of the mind from their state of health; that definition, however, could have a determinate meaning only for those who have a previous knowledge of the operations of the mind in a healthy state. Artificial signs and ideas, definition and knowledge, are in the most intimate relation. Where information is deficient, nomenclature will be vague; where there is no exact knowledge of the nature and properties of anything to be described, an exact definition is impossible.

“Various definitions of insanity have been given; all are founded upon the opinions of the schools with respect to the mind, its properties and the conditions of its manifestations. In the introduction, we have mentioned that no branch of medicine is so intimately connected with the philosophy of the human mind as insanity. Mr. Haslam says, ‘The difficulty of proposing a satisfactory theory of the human mind must have been felt by every person who has touched this delicate string since the days of Aristotle.’ \* \* \* It is, therefore, not astonishing that the knowledge of the derangement of the mind is so little understood. \* \* \* \*

“As, in the prevailing philosophical opinions of the schools, the activity of the mind was looked for in the intellectual powers, as, according to an axiom, its whole activity began with sensation, so that there was

nothing in the mind which did not come into it by the senses, it was very natural to think always of the intellectual powers if derangements of the mind were spoken of. Moreover, the intellectual derangements are the most obvious. It is, for instance, easily observed, if any reject what is excellent, hate what is useful, fear when there is no reason to fear, suppose perceptions of external impressions which do not exist, etc.

“Among the derangements of the mind, memory, judgment and imagination were particularly attended to, and for a long time it was believed that deranged judgment is the basis of insanity. It is true, that as long as judgment exists and corrects erroneous perceptions, the morbid affections of the five senses are not considered as insanity. The mind, for instance, may be deprived of voluntary motion, or of any other sense; the senses may be morbidly affected; we may feel burning heat on the skin; may see flames, the external objects double, reversed, or red colored; we may hear noise, perceive various odors or savors; as long as we know the incorrectness of our perceptions, such diseases are not called insanity: but a patient is styled insane, if he believe in such perceptions from external impressions which do not exist. He, for instance, who thinks he has a frog in his stomach, or that he has feet of glass or straw, will be called insane.

“At the present time, it is well ascertained that, in insanity, the power of judging is not always deranged. Many insane persons, if we grant their premises, reason with perfect consistency; nay, in many that power is increased. For that reason, one sort of insanity is designated by the name reasoning foolishness (*folle raisonnante*). This truth might be illustrated by many cases; but it is superfluous to mention them, since every one who takes care of insane persons must have had occasion to make observations of that kind. I shall only extract from Dr. Cox’s work on insanity that passage where he refers to a part of the speech of Lord Erksine, when at the bar, in defense of Hadfield. ‘I remember,’ said the advocate, ‘the case of a man who indicted another for imprisoning him; and in the course of the trial, though I endeavored by every means in my power, by every question I could put, to draw from him some proof of the real state of his mind, yet such was his subtilty and such his caution, that he baffled me at every point; and it was only by Dr. Sims’ appearing in court that he discovered himself; for he no sooner saw the doctor than he addressed him as the Lord and Saviour of mankind. The person indicted was, therefore, acquitted. But such was the subtilty and perseverance of this man, that, recollecting that the doctor had one day confined him in his house in town, he indicted him for the same offense,

and so well did he remember what it was that lost him his cause at Middlesex, that nothing could extort from him the same behavior; and yet there was not the smallest doubt in the mind of any one who knew him, that he was really and truly a lunatic.' I have chosen this sample as a proof, that such cases do not fall within the observation of medical practitioners only.

"Sometimes it happens that the manifestations of all intellectual powers, as perception, memory, judgment and imagination, are perfect, nay, improved. while, however, the patients are decidedly insane. At Vienna, a melancholy person having seen the execution of a criminal, the spectacle produced in him so violent an emotion, that he was seized with a propensity to kill. At the same time, he had clear consciousness of his situation, and preserved the strongest aversion to such a crime. Weeping bitterly, he described his deplorable situation with an extreme confusion; he struck his head, wrung his hands, exhorted himself, and cried to his friends to take care, and to fly; and he thanked them if they resisted and menaced him. Pinel speaks of a madman who did not show any mark of alienation in respect to memory, imagination, and judgment, but who confessed that in his narrow seclusion his propensity to murder was quite involuntary, and that his



wife, notwithstanding his tenderness for her, was near being immolated, he having time only to warn her to fly. In his lucid intervals, he made the same melancholy reflections, he expressed the same remorse, and he was disgusted with life to such a degree, that he several times attempted to put an end to its existence.

\* \* \* Hence there can be no doubt that insanity embraces more than the derangement of the intellectual powers.

“With respect to the morbid affections of the senses, and to the errors of the intellectual powers, we are insane, if we cannot distinguish the diseased functions, and do consider them as regular; and in the derangement of any feeling we are insane, either if we cannot distinguish the disordered feeling, if, for instance, we really think we are an emperor, king, minister, general, etc., or if we distinguish the deranged feeling, but have lost the influence of the will on our actions, for instance, in the morbid activity of the propensity to destroy. Thus, insanity, in my opinion, is an aberration of any sensation or intellectual power from the healthy state, without being able to distinguish the diseased state; and the aberration of any feeling from the state of health, without being able to distinguish it, or without the influence of the will on the actions of the feelings. In other words, the incapacity of distinguishing the diseased functions of the

mind, and the irresistibility of our actions, constitute insanity.”<sup>9</sup>

Here we have a definition which is not so unconfined by its extended comprehension as to be rendered nugatory in meaning, and sufficiently broad to embrace within its scope every phase of the disease. In the above we are informed that when any one of the faculties of the mind is deranged (changed) in its function (peculiar or appointed action) it is understood, by those devoted to this branch of learning, to place the person to whom it belongs in a condition of insanity.<sup>10</sup> Then if a faculty do not act in that sphere which was designed by nature, but does in some other, the mind including it is deranged.<sup>11</sup> Or if there be a disarrangement in the order of the faculties, so that those which were designed, in the beginning, to be subjected to the influence of the moral, become emancipated, or rather ejected from the latter’s subserviency, then the mind, in that condition, is deranged; because, first, there is a change in the function of the moral and subservient faculties; and

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<sup>9</sup> See his work on insanity, first American edition, ch. 2, pages 49, 50, 51, 52 and 53.

<sup>10</sup> The term insanity is probably derived from the Latin word, *insanitas*, meaning unhealthiness or unsoundness of the mind’s action; and the latter was used by the Roman writers in the same sense which we now apply to the former.—See ANTHON’S LATIN-ENGLISH AND ENGLISH-LATIN DICTIONARY, page 448.

<sup>11</sup> It must have been observed that derangement is frequently caused by disarrangement.

second, in the tendency and bent of the whole mind. In such disarrangement of the faculties the mind is entirely deprived of the ostensible object of its creation, misdirected and deranged in nearly all the appointed actions to which it was designed to be applied. A single faculty becoming deranged, or changed in its peculiar function or appointed action, effects, more or less, a derangement of the whole mind, but in proportion to its primitive quality and original harmonious relation to the rest of the faculties.<sup>12</sup> When, however, several faculties become so situated, the general effect upon the tendency of the mind is increased or multiplied, not in exact proportion to their number, but in due correspondence with their numerical quantity and the relative position

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<sup>12</sup> The derangement of a single faculty gives rise to that condition of insanity which is known by the name of Monomania, the latter being defined by Webster as a "Derangement of a single faculty of the mind, or with regard to a particular subject only." Wharton, in his *MEDICAL JURISPRUDENCE*, relates a case to illustrate the character of this disease, in which, during the investigation, the Court entered into a long conversation upon various topics with a subject of the disease. The subject was a man of thought as well as of learning, and, if we may believe the report, discovered greater reason, a more careful study and reflection on the various branches to which his attention had been directed, than the Court. Thereupon the Court, surprised at the turpitude of those who desired an application for his commitment to an asylum, turned to them and said: "This man mad, verily, he is the ablest man I ever met with." At this development of the case, the friends of the afflicted slipped a piece of paper upon the bench on which was written the name, Ezekiel. The Court then began a very careful criticism of the various writers of the Old Testament, in nearly consecutive order, until he spoke Ezekiel. The lunatic then asked him if he liked the writings of Ezekiel, to which the Court replied in the affirmative. "Well," said the madman, "I will tell you a secret, I am Ezekiel."

which they occupy, and the positive influence which they severally have.<sup>13</sup>

The effect produced by excessive fear, recurring in periods or continuous in action, casts a veil over the feelings, and, as every person well knows who is at all acquainted with the subject, frequently results in a derangement of the affective powers. There is constantly a large proportion of those who are confined in asylums afflicted with that peculiar disease of the mind known as Melancholia. But an excessive greed for the possession of whatever is of value in the material world, when the faculty which gives rise to this state deprives all the modifying faculties of their influence over the action of this one, is as certainly a derangement of the mind as any of those diseases of which persons, placed over the insane, have had the opportunity to observe and to treat.

If a faculty of the mind, having a particular action and not a general scope, be diminished in quantity, but not in quality, from a normal condition, then the case does not necessarily constitute insanity, but does constitute a loss of power in that faculty. Although

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<sup>13</sup> The following, from Benjamin Rush, M. D., illustrates this peculiar condition: "Persons who are afflicted with it (Dissociation) are good tempered and quarrelsome, malicious and kind, generous and miserly, all in the course of the same day. In a word, the mind, in this disease, may be considered as floating in a balloon, and at the mercy of every object and thought that acts upon it. It is constant in some people, but occurs in paroxysms, and is sometimes succeeded by low spirits."—DISEASES OF THE MIND, page 258.

this may affect the whole mind, it does not necessarily derange the action of those moral faculties in which, in a moral person, the will may be said to be reposed. The mind is made up of an aggregation, not of negative, but of positive primitive powers. Although one of these powers, if it have only a particular function, suffer decrement and this be understood as nothing else but a diminishment of that weight formerly characteristic of it in primitive normality, it may nevertheless give rise, under certain external influences, to a different general active direction of the whole mind, and still not constitute that mental condition known as insanity. Thus, during moments of great danger, the element of fear may be more active than that of courage, giving its corresponding quality to individual conduct. And in like manner, when the latter possesses greater potency than the former, temerity is the result. Although, under the two circumstances, the moral faculties be not properly supported, they are, notwithstanding, strongly active in themselves, failing only in forming such combinations in their support as would carry out their inherent impressions. But these conditions which exist, with a maintenance of sanity, are limited and confined in action with, and counter action to, the moral, to a very few propensities. For a much greater development in some of the animal faculties than that, which is possessed by the moral, would



give them such pervertive prominence over the latter as to be productive of different outward expressions than that to which they were originally adapted. A feeling which, not infrequently existing, some people have for the commission of murder to satisfy a perverted faculty, overcomes the active influence of the primitive elements of justice and compassion. A case of this kind would not only be considered one of insanity, but of madness also, by those who have devoted much attention to the subject,<sup>14</sup> Again, if

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<sup>14</sup> See the Vienna case quoted in definition given by Spurzheim where he says, "I have quoted more examples in my work on Phrenology," which is here reproduced in the following. "Highwaymen are frequently not content with robbing, but manifest the most sanguinary inclination to torment and murder without necessity. John Rosbede not only maltreated his victims to make them show their concealed treasures, but invented and employed the most outrageous cruelties, merely to witness their sufferings; neither fear nor torture could break him of this horrible habit; after his first apprehension, he was confined for eighteen months in a small subterranean dungeon, his feet loaded with chains, standing in muddy water up to his ankles; in addition to all this, he was tortured most cruelly. \* \* \* On being enlarged, his first act was to steal in full daylight, and having committed new murders, was finally executed.

<sup>1</sup> At the beginning of the last century, several murders were committed in Holland, on the frontiers of the province of Cleves. For a long time the murderer escaped detection, but at last suspicion fell on an old man, who gained his livelihood by playing on the violin at country weddings, in consequence of some expressions of his children: led before the justice, he confessed thirty-four murders, and said that he had committed them without any cause of enmity, and without any intention of robbing, but only because he was extremely delighted with bloodshed. At Strasburg, two keepers of the cathedral having been assassinated, all efforts to discover the murderer for a long time were ineffectual; at last a postillion was shot by a clergyman called Frick. This monster had hired a post-chaise for the express purpose of satisfying his horrible propensity to destroy. Arrested, he confessed himself the murderer of both keepers of the cathedral. This wretch was rich, and had never stolen. For his crimes he was condemned to be burned at Strasburg. Louis XV,' says M. de Lacretelle, 'felt a rooted aversion against a brother of the Duke of Bourbon Conde, Count Charlois, who would have

the moral faculties have so entirely fallen as to give the propensities directive power over the individual, it is at least a certain grade of madness, however much the intellectual faculties may be able to distinguish those diseased conditions under which the mind labors. Such is not necessarily a derangement of the last, but is of the first.

In the contemplation of this question, if the conduct of mankind be taken into consideration, with such definitions as are given by the most experienced writers on the subject of insanity, (they are based upon observed facts, too,) it will be found that but a small portion of the human family can escape some sort of classification under the disease. By a close

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renewed all the crimes of Nero, had he ever mounted a throne. While a child, he betrayed a cruelty of disposition which excited horror. He delighted in shedding the blood of those he had debauched, and in exercising various barbarities on the courtezans who were brought to him. Popular tradition, as well as history, accuse him of different homicides, and it is added that these were committed without any cause, and when unnerved by anger; for he shot at slaters, merely to have the barbarous pleasure of seeing them fall from the tops of the houses.'

"These latter facts, which fortunately for humanity are very rare, prove that this terrible propensity is sometimes quite independent of education, of example, or of habit, and that it depends on innate constitution alone. Many crimes indeed are as detestable, and are accompanied with such repugnant and horrible circumstances, that it would be impossible to explain them in any other way. Prochasca relates that a woman of Milan caressed little children, led them home, killed them, salted their flesh, and ate of it every day. He quotes also the case of a person whom this passion excited, and who killed a traveler and a young girl to eat them. Canbius speaks of a girl whose father was incited by a violent impulse to eat human flesh, and who, to gratify his singular desire, committed several murders. This girl, though separated from her father for a long time, and educated carefully among respectable people not related to her family, was overcome by the same horrible desire to eat human flesh.'"—SPURZHEIM'S PHRENOLOGY, pages 141, 142 and 143.

and careful investigation into the conduct of people one will find that all ranks and vocations are more tinctured with those abnormal mental conditions which are now, and ever have been, characteristic of the various degrees of madness, than he could, at first, have been led to suppose. By this method alone one can discover the lamentable condition of the internal causes of those external acts, against both of which man has been forced to labor, in the major part of the earth and a greater part of the time, for more than fifty centuries. If we see individuals kill themselves intentionally; if they kill others for the purpose of bringing the penalty of death upon themselves, by execution of law, to avoid self-murder; if they murder their wives or children, or vice versa; if they are so enchanted by gold as to become slaves to the tedious processes of its accumulation while they are surrounded by opulence; if they directly or indirectly defraud others for the purpose of multiplying fortunes already large; if we should find man so intoxicated with the love of fame as to trample upon every natural law, finally extinguishing the best portions of his being and the only substantial happiness of his life, to subserve the ends of a weak, a delusive and an imaginary glory, existing in the mind of himself and his base parasites only, when he must inevitably be looked upon with contempt for his depravity and

imbecility by the wise and just of his, and of those of succeeding generations; if he so conduct his career as to defeat the object which he sought and plunge himself into misery, we are constrained to pronounce him either fatuous or lunatic, which, in either event, places him under the general term of insanity. If he connive at all kinds of hypocrisy and dishonesty to gain an election which, when attained, adds nothing to his happiness, little good to his name, but is fleeting, is passing away, and terminates in disappointment to his senseless hopes; if he have an idea measured only by weight of gold, as a consideration upon which he bases those marital relations which are sure to meet that merited disaster that the least intelligence might have foreseen; if he so conduct his business in the acquisition of property that whatever little morality he possessed at his birth and majority are extinguished at his death; if he acquire property for the purpose of giving a bridleless license to his passions; if he reduce others to indigence to enrich and aggrandize his own family, not appreciating the consequences which the heinous process will have to brutalize himself, or unable to comprehend its effects when completed, he is, we say, a lunatic, and requires rather the watchful care of a doctor of philosophy than one of medicine.

An ambition arising from the propensities, or from



the selfish sentiments, so much exalted in the past and present, when it subordinates the moral to this one end, however lightly regarded, is a condition of insanity. It is also one of the highest degrees of absurdity to which conceit can be carried, to suppose that there can be a general progressive improvement to man's advantage, because the intellectual faculties are manifesting an active development in discoveries and inventions, while the moral, at the same time, are in a state of great degeneracy. This, if it did not originate with the ignorant, did with that class which have utterly failed to comprehend the extent to which man's mind was organized, and to which again it may be developed. A development of the intellectual, without a corresponding one of the moral, faculties, only multiplies the power, and consequently the extent of human depravity.<sup>15</sup> Depravity and crime are results of those mental conditions of which derangement was the cause. Man is still in that condition in which he has existed for at least four thousand years, under the reign of the animal faculties and selfish sentiments of the mind.

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<sup>15</sup> There are more colleges in the state of Ohio, which have this scope, than there are in England, France and Germany combined. In no part of the earth is there an institution of learning which educates other faculties than the religious and the intellectual. Text-books there are, it is true, on moral science, but they are almost wholly religious in their nature; students, therefore, come from college with an education of the religious and intellectual only. Thus Ohio, under the present system of education, is a great moral disorganizer, and becomes a standing menace to the freedom of the people and the perpetuity of the republic.



If we behold man one day acting within the bounds of reason, and on a subsequent one suddenly exalted to a degree of impudence, for instance, in consequence of the possession of a fortune, when by it he is not made the better, nor the wiser, but only rendered the more comfortable, and begins to despise his fellow men more fortunate, who are his superiors in internal qualities, *and tramples upon their vested rights* to satisfy his arrogance and flatter the immediate cause of his vanity, we are forced, by the nature of the case, to allege that he is shaken in his reason and deranged in his morals. If, as a public functionary, we see him one day courting peace, and for this end exhausting all the arts of a deceitful diplomacy, but on another plunging his country into a deadly conflict of arms, which must invariably dig the graves and perform funeral rites over the mortal remains of thousands of human beings, because he is possessed of sufficient power to revenge his nationality upon an enemy for some stupid error of the latter, we say that he and the people who support his measures have given evidence of a derangement of their moral faculties. Although in the latter case the intellectual powers may not be deranged, they have, as it were changed masters, have become agents and servants of the propensities, there being a disarrangement in the **natural** order of the faculties by their permutation.

The intellectual powers, in such a condition, are controlled and directed by those faculties which, when perverted, give rise to the irrational feelings of malice, hatred and revenge. When men make statutory laws which are designed, in their nature, to prevent the recurrence of crime by the punishment of those who violate them, and then substantially perform what they endeavored to forestall, escaping punishment because, by a little sagacity, their offense was so committed as to be too narrow or too broad for the particular misdemeanor described in the code, we charge them with both sanity and insanity, corresponding to the two contradictory positions of their mental powers at the time of the conception and execution of both law and transgression. They were possessed of reason when they made the law, because their reasoning faculties were properly directed; but though not divested of some appearance of reason, as considered in and of itself, when they violated it, yet there was a derangement in the manner in which its qualities were used.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> The many cases we have put forward in the above more clearly constitute insanity than the following one quoted from Dr. Benjamin Rush, on the same subject, by which case he labors to demonstrate to the reader the appearances which a person afflicted with demence or dissociation usually presents: "The celebrated Lavater was afflicted with it, and although he wrote with order, yet his conversation was a mass of unconnected ideas, accompanied with bodily gestures, which indicated a degree of madness. I shall insert an account of a visit paid to him at Zurich by the Rev. Dr. Hunter, an English clergyman, in which he exemplified the state which I wish to describe:

Again, if individuals pursue, follow or endorse those public customs which, by their nature, tend directly to the diminishment of those mental causes which are productive of compassion and of justice, when the same come within the range or scope of the intellectual powers of a person of ordinary mind, and fail to comprehend the effects of the terrible operation, such individuals, we say, are deranged in the reasoning powers of the mind. If, on the other hand, their intellectual faculties take full scope of the given operations from first to last, in all their bearings, and do not oppose the tidal current of corruption, or at least stand aloof from it, then the case becomes a derangement of the moral faculties of the mind. Because when the current of public thought, in any age or among any people, tends to destroy, by its final effects, the health, comfort and happiness of

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“‘I was detained,’ says he, ‘the whole morning by the strange, wild, eccentric Lavater, in various conversations. When once he is set agoing there is no such thing as stopping him till he runs himself out of breath. He starts from subject to subject; flies from book to book, from picture to picture; measures your nose, your eye, your mouth, with a pair of compasses; pours forth a torrent of physiognomy upon you; drags you, for a proof of his dogma, to a dozen closets, and unfolds ten thousand drawings; but will not let you open your mouth to propose a difficulty; crams a solution down your throat before you have uttered half a syllable of your objection.

“‘He is as meager as the picture of famine; his nose and chin almost meet. I read him in my turn, and found little difficulty in discovering, amidst great genius, unaffected piety, unbounded benevolence and moderate learning, much caprice and unsteadiness, a mind at once aspiring by nature and groveling through necessity, an endless turn to speculation and project; in a word, a clever, flighty, good-natured, necessitous man.’”—DISEASES OF THE MIND, 5th edition, page 258.

mankind through the diminishment of their causes in the human mind, the embracement or endorsement of, or acquiescence to, that public thought or custom, becomes an act of suicide and hence irrational. It is, we repeat, only by the external acts of persons that we become acquainted with their internal condition. To conclude: if we should discover that the human family, or any considerable portion of them, be irresistibly driven by those passions or desires of which we find them possessed, to the embracement of those wrongs which, as such, are easily comprehended by their understandings, we say that it constitutes a case of derangement of the moral faculties, because the latter are put out of their natural order, and no longer perform their proper functions: those faculties having a general scope no longer subordinate and direct those which have a particular action only, the last having become first. This is necessarily the case with all monomaniacs, and many mad people suffering from general derangement that are confined in lunatic asylums. A part of the modifying faculties are so far lost to power over the mind that some of those propensities which have prodigious activity, not being counterbalanced, render the subject highly dangerous to the members of society.

The irrational condition in which man has existed for above five thousand years, in our opinion, accounts



for the fact, that the days of every nation are numbered, and that, sooner or later, it must follow the fate of its predecessor. That "history repeats itself," is almost as true as trite.<sup>17</sup> It is an easy matter to determine that people afflicted with melancholy insanity, during the worst periods of the disease, will be very liable to commit homicide. It is also as easy to predict, as experience has proven, that every twenty years, other conditions being equal, there will be financial crises throughout all commercial nations. But these and other similar calculations of statisticians, are only predicable under the reign of the propensities. They could not occur if man should be returned to a normal condition.

Having seen, in the histories of the primitive religious and moral elements of the Hebrews and Carthaginians, of the intellectual and moral powers of the Greeks, the disproof of an ecclesiastical error, and, a popular notion, long entertained by educators, to be equally erroneous, we, in addition to these, discovered that a general depravity had, before the birth of our Saviour, an almost universal existence among all civilized nations, and had also extended its blighting curse to the savages and barbarians who inhabited the remote corners of the earth. In addition to other leading objects in the foregoing histories, we say, that

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<sup>17</sup> JOHN S. MILL'S LOGIC OF THE MORAL SCIENCES, ch. 10.



a general depravity was shown to have an almost universal existence; all tribes, races, and nations of mankind having fallen under the domination of the propensities. In this chapter it has been one of our leading desires to make a closer examination into that mental disease under which man still labors, and to which we had, in the former chapters, applied the term depravity. In this chapter we have also endeavored to prove that the primitive condition of man consisted in the supremacy of his moral sentiments, and subsequently, the antithetical one with which he is now afflicted, to be a derangement of his mental powers.

Our attention has been brought to the mental condition in which, for several thousand years, man has been placed. We have seen that although man is religious, he is, nevertheless, in consequence of his tenacious vices, a melancholy and disgusting being to behold. Religion, instead of elevating him morally, has been one of the chief causes of plunging him into crime and debauchery, not in consequence of its having such tendency in and of itself, but because of the broad and unwarrantable efficacy assumed of it by its apostles. So far as its final effects are concerned, in ministering to the wants of our spiritual nature, it is just, glorious and true. Farther than this, nothing can be claimed for it. By an increased culture of the reasoning powers, we find a parallel multiplication,

not of virtue, as is supposed, but of vice, its antagonistic element. These claims put forward by the sacerdotaly as a qualitative effect of the former, is almost as old as religion itself; but that of the learned is of more recent origin. These scholastic and ecclesiastical opinions are still taught in the United States with all the fervor and confidence which might be expected of the times under the present notion of human progress. If they, or either of them, had protected man in the past, or had they exhibited such tendency, we might indulge some hope that they would arrest the progress of corruption in the present. But we know, by having seen, that they have no such tendency, and the more confidence we place in their efficacy, the surer and more rapid will be the blast of our faith. Let us, therefore, be awakened from farther reliance in their pretended preserving powers, and understand the benefits and evils which, in the United States, are derivable from each.

Mankind was degenerated before the founding of Rome, and degenerated with it while it had control of the earth. After the fall of the empire, the European races were in a deplorable condition of morals, and so continued down to the reformation, during which, in the British isles, causes so combined as to produce a partial restoration. This degeneracy was a derangement of the moral sentiments. Whatever restoration

there was, it was inherited by the pioneers of the thirteen colonies, and, by causes which arose through the maladministration of parliament and the executive of Great Britain, continued to progress in them farther toward a status of normality. But, as time added to the age of the republic, as wealth was accumulated, generations multiplied, education increased, and religion become more popular with the masses, the people, as we shall hereafter show, relapsed back into that disease of the moral sentiments which is so traceable in the dark and gloomy history of man.

Having given, at the close of the preceding chapter, some hints by which this derangement can be removed, and that no equitable government can possibly endure without its removal, we shall proceed, in the following chapter, to treat of the events which mark, more immediately, the rapid declension of morals in the United States of America.

## CHAPTER VII.

### HISTORY OF THE DECLENSION.

No Declension without a status exists from which a Nation can decline—Partial recovery to a primitive state by Settlers of North America—Causes which contributed to produce that recovery—Evidences of that partial Restoration in the People of the Thirteen Colonies at the period of the American Revolution—Change of Character in their immediate Successors—Contrast of the latter to the former—Attitude of the Southern Slave States on the question of Slavery—Decline of the Moral Sentiments in the South—Opinions and Feelings of Southern Slaveholders enter the North and stifle the Expressions of Humanity—Decline of the Moral Sentiments in the North.

THE declension of a country cannot, with beneficial results, be contemplated apart from those conditions which existed at the time of the founding of the political body. Human society being dynamical, there is at one and the same time, progression and retrogression. While some of the qualities and interests, material or otherwise, are advancing to apparently enhance the pleasure, comfort, health and welfare of man, others frequently, not the less, but the more necessary, are actually passing away and disappearing from that society which they had previously founded

and composed. And perhaps there are few notions upon which mankind, at large, are more divided than upon that idea which the term prosperity represents. Blinded by self-interest, prejudice, passion, bigotry, and conceit, man is always putting such constructions upon the condition of the times as best suit the measure of his speculations, best pander to false opinions, or uses such influences as are designed by their nature to flatter the vanities of a frivolous and hypocritical age. Such, lamentably, has been too much the conduct of man in all periods of the earth's history. Could the race profit, under existing institutions, by the calamities of others in the past, who were as fortunate and as potent, it might be made happier, healthier and wealthier in the future. Under those systems of discipline which have always been in vogue, nothing better could have been expected, and still less can be hoped from them as we advance in the accumulation of evil qualities. Although the intellectual operations of man have produced different effects in the arts and sciences at various periods, more or less surrounding him with the comforts and conveniences of life, he has, nevertheless, invariably foundered his political organization in that sea which had engulphed the hopes and enclosed the remains of so many of his predecessors.

Why marvel at the calamities of man, when the



very tendency of that mentality which he has traduced works the wreck of what he seeks? If he has suffered, he has deserved to suffer; he has only met those rewards which Providence has seen proper to administer, under the natural laws, to those who violate them. He should have prospered, as their design is protection; but whenever he has placed himself in opposition to them, he and his institutions have invariably been swept away. This, under similar conduct, must be his fate in the future. Whether this is to be the lot of the Great Republic of the United States, can only be known by the sad experience of some after the misfortune has transpired, by the prudence and knowledge which others have of the history of past nations, and the wisdom with which they apply that knowledge to causes which produce human events. Although the Declension of the Great Republic is a melancholy subject for a patriotic and intelligent American to contemplate, yet it is not as blasting in its effects as will be the nature of the case when the political fabric shall have been laid in the dust. A knowledge of the question, and a proper application of right remedies, may avoid those calamities which otherwise are sure to arrive.

Of those races and classes of men and women who settled North America, it is generally known that they

were of English and Scottish origin. Although of two of the most warlike races of Europe, they were, nevertheless, more fully possessed of the mental qualities of independence, of compassion, and of justice, than any other nation hitherto existing in modern times. Notwithstanding, at the expatriation of our progenitors, the Europeans generally had made no very considerable advancement in the improvement of their higher mental powers, there was, at the time of the reformation, in the various states of that continent, and more especially in Scotland and England, a revival of that intelligence, and of those principles, which had, to a considerable degree, characterized the earlier inhabitants of Rome. The corrupt selfishness of the Catholic hierarchy being exposed, wakened to activity the slumbering intelligence of those who were not entirely lost to sense and to shame. By investigating the designing cruelty and cupidity of the church, the feelings of justice and benevolence were brought into thoroughly active operations, subordinating the propensities to the service of morality, and giving out indignant expressions as evidence of an aggressive disapproval. The result of these effects upon the moral faculties of the mind was to produce in them those active and acute conditions which, since the second Punic war, had been lost to Europe. As the long conflict between the papacy and the reformers

increased the animosity of the contestants, these same primitive elements in the latter were stimulated to greater critical efforts, and the propensities in the members of the former were making as rapid progress to extinguish the last portion of that conscience which, if still left, might have been lurking in the more clouded recesses of the soul. The passions of envy, hatred and revenge, in and of themselves, never wrought but evil effects to the higher sentiments of their possessor. While the reformers were thus gaining moral strength in this theological controversy, by a resumption of a long neglected portion of their nature, those who adhered to the ecclesiastical notions of the older clergy were, by a similar process, declining in mental energy. From the reign of Henry VIII to the Prince of Orange, a period of one hundred and eighty years, did these conflicting questions of the church continue to agitate the public, and more especially the private, conscience of the English and Scottish races. The increased activity of the moral qualities which had in this manner been acquired by one generation, would very naturally, like any other, be inherited by the succeeding. These external causes on the one hand, and the internal qualities on the other, the latter being transmitted from parent to child and acting through a period of five generations, wrought great changes in the two principal races of the British

isles and the Catholic nations on the continent. There was a great superiority discernible in all the acts of the former over the latter. Rome taught her laity that faith with Protestants was not to be regarded, and inaugurated, as far as her influence extended, a weak but bloodthirsty policy against those peoples and nations which had emancipated themselves from her superstitious despotism. Not so with the reformers in England in their pastoral charges to their followers; for though frequently driven, through fear of a rising political power, to restrain the exercise of their religious beliefs and the resuscitation of popery, to the exercise of unwarrantable authority, it was under strong moral convictions.

But when the tyrannical authority which the primacy of Rome had long exercised over the civilized world, was shaken from the people in this portion of the globe, we find that the English and Scottish minds, for obvious reasons, were directed to dissent from many trifling doctrines and immoral acts which the state and reformed church, under the reigns of the Tudors and Stuarts, had thought to be for their interest to enforce.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The following from Hume indicates about the force with which they bore up against both state and church: "Sir John Elliott" [in the house of commons] "framed a remonstrance against levying tonnage and poundage without consent of parliament, and offered it to the clerk to read. It was refused. He read it himself. The question being then called for, the speaker, Sir John Finch, said, 'that he had a command from the king to adjourn, and to put no question;' upon which he rose and left the chair. The whole house

The people were not unnecessarily refractory against good government, but were restless at the impositions (as they supposed them to be) of their ecclesiastical superiors, and the tendency of those pernicious principles which had manifested themselves during the administration of their rulers. Against these the feelings of the people were aroused, and seemed disposed to arrest the progress of those evils which had always appeared to increase in strength over the common mind as they advanced in age. Though during this partial restoration, not to political rights of which they had been despoiled, but to the supremacy of their moral sentiments, the masses were not infrequently urged to the extremes of justice, even bordering on cruelty to the person, they appeared upon such occasions, nevertheless, to have arrived at a condition by which they were caused to feel the poignant workings of a compassionate soul. These

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was in an uproar. The speaker was pushed back into the chair, and forcibly held in it by Hollis and Valentine, till a short remonstrance was framed, and was passed by acclamation rather than by vote. Papists and Arminians were then declared capital enemies to the commonwealth. Those who levied tonnage and poundage were branded with the same epithets. And even the merchants who should voluntarily pay those duties, were denominated betrayers of English liberty and public enemies. The doors " [of the commons] " being locked, the gentleman usher of the house of lords, who was sent by the king, could not get admission till this remonstrance was finished. By the king's order he took the mace from the table, which ended the proceedings, and a few days after the parliament was dissolved." \* \* \* Of the Arminians he says: "Throughout the nation they lay under the reproach of innovation and heresy. \* \* \* Their protectors were stigmatized, their tenets canvassed, their views represented as dangerous and pernicious."— HISTORY OF ENGLAND, vol. 5, pages 56 and 59: Phillips, Sampson & Co., Boston.



were symptoms which foreboded good, instead of evil, to the race of man. In tracing the events of this people immediately after the execution of Charles I, oppressions of mortification, grief and even horror were generally manifested throughout the great body of the English nation, which, there a century before, and on the continent a century afterward, could not have occurred under similar external circumstances.<sup>2</sup>

Although the papacy had extinguished the fourth cause which operated to degenerate the Greeks, it was through no good will or intention of her own. She had checked one of the natural agencies of civilized corruption, as it were, and substituted in its stead the most savage barbarism. This condition, which she had wrought upon the great majority of the European masses, continued down to the opposition of Luther and Melancthon. From this mental state, which gave

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<sup>2</sup> Speaking of the effect which the regicide had upon the more humane sentiments of the nation, the historian says: "In proportion to their former delusions, which had animated them against him," [Charles I,] "was the violence of their return to duty and affection; while each reproached himself, either with active disloyalty towards him, or with too indolent defense of his oppressed cause. On weaker minds the effects of the complicated passions were prodigious. Women are said to have cast forth the untimely fruit of their womb; others fell into convulsions, or sunk into such a state of melancholy as attended them to their grave; nay, some, unmindful of themselves, as though they could not, or would not, survive their beloved prince, it is reported, suddenly fell down dead. The very pulpits were bedewed with unsuborned tears; those pulpits which had formerly thundered out the most violent imprecations and anathemas against him. And all men united in their detestation of those hypocritical parricides who, by sanctified pretenses, had so long disguised their treasons, and in this last act of iniquity had thrown an indelible stain upon the nation.'"—HUME'S HISTORY OF ENGLAND, vol. 5, page 378. Phillips, Sampson & Co., Boston.

rise to no tender sentiments, but thirsted to glut a morbid appetite in witnessing and committing the most exquisite cruelties, the English and Scottish minds were delivered at the end of the great controversy. Thus it was that these two races were elevated, not in conceit and bigotry, but in substantial moral qualities, above the same in any other people of the continent, except those nations in the north of Europe and the south of France, which, as we have before intimated, had embraced the principles of the reformation.

Having merely indicated that process and those agencies by which our English and Scottish progenitors were mentally carried above the moral darkness which obscured Europe in the middle ages, we shall conclude this portion of our reflection upon the subject, as a farther extension of it would be inconsistent with the limits of this work. But as to their moral superiority, and the manner in which it was wrought, volumes, as evidence, can be supplied in its support. It is hoped that this conclusive reflection upon our metaphysical origin, will not be regarded as a manifestation of vanity, but, by the necessities of the case, be conceded as truth and justice.

However much this was the case with the English and Scotch, when compared with the other nations of the west, and more especially of the south, of Europe,

they had, by no means, arrived at that mental status which placed the animal faculties and selfish sentiments of the mind in entire subjection to the moral powers. From this metaphysical condition the pilgrim fathers, and those who subsequently arrived from these two states of the kingdom, were descended, and partook, as their history establishes, its qualities, and transmitted them to those generations which immediately succeeded them in the colonies of America. As the English minds were not entirely under the influence of their moral faculties, they were engaged alternately *in suppressing* the wrongs which sprang up among the various classes, sects, and religious denominations in their own land, *and, in transporting* from the coast of Africa its inhabitants, and selling them as slaves to the planters of North America. The propensities being more active, having been more acted upon by objects of the external world, have always, since the fall of the moral faculties, transferred the monuments of their labor, from one century to another, with greater force and with more evil consequences, than have the higher sentiments of the mind.

It being understood that this work pertains solely to certain portions of the metaphysical nature of man, and not to external events farther than they reflect the various degrees of weakness and strength, which, by

different causes, and at different periods, the mental faculties were forced to assume, we shall omit all narration of the events of American history which do not contribute to this one end. Besides, this branch of the subject would be superfluous, as several able historians have already treated it in a masterly way.

The first colonial settlers of North British America, those who cleared the forests of New England, and the plantations of the South, excepting a certain independence of spirit and a more fervent zeal for religious opinions, were not, as a whole, in a much more exalted condition in those faculties which produce moral principles, than were their brethren whom they left behind in their native land. Whatever evidence there may be on this question, will, without doubt, be found by the history of each in favor of the early emigrants. The difference, however, in mental characteristics which existed between them, is not to be regarded as very considerable. The very first settlers of the country, more especially those who landed at Plymouth Rock and at James Town, Virginia, if one take not into consideration the character of those who arrived shortly thereafter, might, as respects the general principles embodied in morality, be regarded as the apostles of the British nation. But, during this reflection, it must not be forgotten that they were followed by a host of the most ambitious and



enterprising men, who were as unprincipled as their undertakings were dangerous. They came over the sea with appointments of the crown and with land grants, in most cases unmerited privileges, or for the purpose of speculation, by gathering power from the necks of the people, in fraudulent collusion with the agents of the imperial government.

The whole political career of Great Britain toward her newly planted colonies was adapted, in its nature, to more deeply nerve the feelings of justice and compassion in the early Americans, than had that great controversy which gave birth to the reformation. As the former began where the latter left off, and continued much the same action upon the mental powers of the people, they were making rapid progress to entirely surmount those difficult conditions of the propensities, under which the inhabitants of England, after a partial growth of the colonies, appeared to be relapsing.<sup>3</sup> In this mental status, parliament,

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<sup>3</sup> "With the restoration of the royal house, immorality had come in upon England like a flood. The hatred of Puritanism extended itself to the venerable things that Puritans revered, and to those habits of blameless living that Puritans had attempted (not always wisely) to enforce. The king's example of ostentatious vice was attractive to loyal minds. The court, with which the church was enthusiastically allied, was flagitiously and imprudently profligate. The fine gentleman scarcely maintained his character, unless, besides being a libertine and a scoffer, he was a pensioner and a pimp. The king's bishops had to keep on civil terms with the king's harlots. The latest historian is fain to record, as 'an unquestionable and a most instructive fact, that the years during which the political power of the Anglican hierarchy was in the zenith, were precisely the years during which national virtue was at the lowest point.'"—PALFREY'S HISTORY OF NEW ENGLAND, vol. 2, page 437.



supported by the middle classes, forwarded measures more adapted to finally destroy, than in the end to promote British interests in the west. Whatever these classes desired, which tended to increase their fortunes, was sanctioned, aided, and even enforced by the representative powers of the realm.<sup>4</sup> And, moreover, those of Great Britain who had assumed the care of the spiritual welfare of the people, had professed, as a sole object of earthly life, to be actuated by divine inspiration to save the souls of men, were seized with the same uncommon greed for gold, for power and for distinction. They endeavored, by the aid of parliament, of the established church, and of the crown, to found an hierarchy in the colonies of America, which was little less odious to the inhabitants than had been that of Rome to the most enthusiastic reformers. They were triumphant with home authority.<sup>5</sup> The executive

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<sup>4</sup> To support home interests, perhaps nothing was more designed, for the time only, to carry out this object, than her financial policy toward the colonies.

<sup>5</sup> In 1738, the New England currency was worth but one hundred for five hundred; that of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, one hundred for one hundred and sixty or seventy, or two hundred; of South Carolina, one for eight, while of North Carolina—of all the states the least commercial in its character—the paper was in London esteemed worth but one for fourteen, in the colony but one for ten. And yet the policy itself was not repudiated. The statesmen of England never proposed or desired to raise the domestic currency of the colonies to an equality with that of the great commercial world.”—BANCROFT'S HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES, vol. 3, page 389.

<sup>5</sup> “The ministers of Massachusetts,” [of the English church,] “by the hand of Cotton Mather, desired a synod, ‘to recover and establish the faith and order of the gospel.’ The council assents; the house hesitates, and, by a reference to the next session, gives opportunity for instruction from the people. The bishop of London anticipates their decision, and a reprimand

strove to enforce those unjust and pernicious principles, which created the code of partial descent in England, in the case of intestate estates in the colony of Connecticut. It amended the law of equal distribution, although, by the energetic resistance of the provincials, George II and his government were compelled to recede from their position.<sup>6</sup>

Though the aristocracy met with disappointment in many of their schemes, they appeared to be emboldened to more unprincipled measures and more hazardous undertakings. The governor of New York, in 1734, opposed the whole inhabitants of the colony, and declared it his purpose to set the laws of surveys, of proprietary rights, at defiance; and it was evident that, by new conferences of those lands, the title of which had long been settled, upon those devoted to the crown, he designed to establish absolute principles over the rising empire of the west. It was also as reasonable to conclude, from most of the circumstances which attended his conduct, that he was

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from England forbids 'the authoritative' meeting, as a bad precedent for dissenters. An English prelate was once more the opponent of the religion of New England."—BANCROFT'S HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES, vol. 3, page 391; also note 2, on page 330 of vol. 3, PALFREY'S HISTORY OF NEW ENGLAND.

6 "The farmers of Connecticut loved to divide their domain among their children. In regard to intestate estates, their law was annulled in England, and the English law favoring the eldest born was declared to be in force among them. Republican equality seemed endangered; but, in the short conflict between the European system and the American system, the new legislation triumphed, and the king receded from the vain project of enforcing English rules of descent on the husbandmen of New England."—BANCROFT'S HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES, vol. 3, pages 392 and 393.

carrying out a systematic and deliberate policy of the home government. When told that his course was in violation of law, he replied: "Do you think I mind that? I have great interests in Ireland." But monarchical influences had reached and tainted others beside the imperial executive agent. The legislative body concurred in his schemes and sanctioned his measures. It is also a little remarkable that this legislature should be wholly unlimited in its duration, so far as the colony was concerned, and at the same time for its existence made dependent upon the crown.<sup>7</sup> That the governor had secret instructions to remove judges and appoint new ones, more adapted by depravity to acquiesce in his course, appeared from the manner in which he displaced them and supplied their positions. Publishers of papers, who warned the people of the danger to be apprehended from an increase of absolute principles, were arrested and imprisoned. Their counsel were disbarred for having taken exceptions to the jurisdiction of the court.<sup>8</sup> The

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<sup>7</sup> "At New York the people and the governor are in collision. Casby, imitating Andros in Massachusetts, insists on new surveys of land and new grants, in lieu of the old. \* \* \* \* The assembly, chosen under royalist influences, and continued from year to year, offered no resistance. The rights of the electors were impaired, for the period of the assembly was unlimited. The courts of law were not so pliable; and Casby, displacing the chief-justice, himself appointed judges, without soliciting the consent of the council or waiting for the approbation of the sovereign."—BANCROFT'S HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES, vol. 3, page 393.

<sup>8</sup> *IBID.*

juries, however, belonging to a class less corruptible than the courts, in cases of libel gave evidence of superior moral qualities by their verdicts of not guilty.<sup>9</sup>

But during these oppressive acts of the crown and commercial classes of Great Britain, the courage of the colonists was being subjected to an unusual growth by an unseen power. That power was from within, the exciting cause from without. There appeared a steady progress of opposition to all the aggressive acts which emanated from abroad. England was doing no evil service, for as she took their substance from them against law, and subjected them to dependency upon absolute principles, she was at the same time developing in them those faculties and feelings which are more enduring than gold and garters.

In the other colonies, the administration of the selfish feelings of the English was not less traceable. In Massachusetts, as early as 1684, the charter, which had existed fifty-five years, had extended some freedom, and a little latitude, to the feelings of the people without violating their moral feelings, was abrogated, and the prosperity and welfare of the inhabitants of that province were made dependent upon the whims of a prince, whose mind was still darkened by the doctrines

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<sup>9</sup> See case of Zenger, BANCROFT'S HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES, vol. 3, pages 393 and 394.



and ceremonies of the Romish faith. But his acts cannot be regarded solely as the result of his despotic will; he had, as executive, but given expression to the feelings of avarice which pervaded, without a proper balance, all the commercial classes of England.<sup>10</sup> The abrogation of the charter was procured by the merchants and the manufacturers of England, and visited on the colonial people as a penalty for having violated the Navigation Act, which, by compliance, compelled the provincials to buy English goods at English prices, and in payment therefor return American products at whatever values the latter thought it to be for their interests to advance.<sup>11</sup> Those who traded with nations

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<sup>10</sup> That the Navigation Act was passed in the interests of the merchants and manufacturers, none ever doubted; that they procured its passage by bringing their influence to bear on the parliament and the crown, there is as little doubt. After its passage they treated it as a creature of their own. The following supports both views: "Complaints were brought against them," [the people of New England,] "the preceding year, by the merchants and manufacturers of England, for their disregard of the Navigation Act. The governors of the colonies were therefore commanded to enforce a strict obedience to the commercial regulations. Commissions were transmitted, empowering persons to administer an oath framed to secure a strict observance of those laws."—HINTON'S UNITED STATES, vol. 1, page 66.

"Moreover, the interests of the trade of the nation had precedence of the political interests of the princes. The members of the legislature watched popular excitements, and listened readily to the petitions of the merchants; and these in their turn did not desire to see one of their own number charged with the conduct of the finances as chancellor of the exchequer; but wished rather for some member of the aristocracy, friendly to their interests. They preferred to speak through such an one, and rebelled against the necessity of doing so, as little as they did at the employment of a barrister to plead their cause in the halls of justice."—BANCROFT, vol. 5, page 50. See also page 92 as to the complaints and the influence of the merchants on Grenville.

<sup>11</sup> "The Navigation Act of the commonwealth was made the basis of further and stricter legislation. A law of the convention parliament forbade the importation of merchandise into any English colony, except in English



bordering on the Mediterranean, in the south of Europe, were not to have passes granted them, by which they could be protected in their lives from the merciless ferocity of Turkish pirates.<sup>12</sup> Notwithstanding that Englishmen, wherever they are domiciled, had, under the British constitution, equal privileges before the law, the American branch of that great family were to be subjected to a loss of vessel property, to imprisonment, or to a penalty of death, for not donating the principal amount of the value of their goods to the middle classes of their mother country; if by so

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vessels, with English crews; and, specifying various colonial staples, it prohibited their exportation from the place of production to any other ports than such as belonged to England. The penalty in both cases was forfeiture of vessel and cargo. The oppressive system was further extended by an act which confined the import trade of the colonists to a direct commerce with England, forbidding them to bring them from any other country, or in any other but English ships, the products, not only of England, but of any European soil."—PALFREY'S HISTORY OF NEW ENGLAND, vol. 3, page 444.

It cannot fail to be seen from the above, that in securing such a close monopoly to themselves, the prices at which the English bought and sold, would be regulated by the supply and demand. There was much of the time an over supply of American products, and hence the prices at which the merchants bought, were as low as their hearts could desire. "There were articles of New England production, which the English merchants, whether by consumption or commerce, could not exhaust; while it concerned the English merchants, that the colonists should somehow get money to pay for English manufactures."—*IBID.*, note 1.

<sup>12</sup> "Complainants stated, that the inhabitants of New England not only traded to most parts of Europe, but encouraged foreigners to go and traffic with them; that they supplied the other plantations with those foreign productions which ought only to be sent from England." \* \* "To add weight to these measures," [a close enforcement of the Navigation Act,] "it was determined that no Mediterranean passes should be granted to New England, to protect its vessels against the Turks, till it is seen what dependence it will acknowledge on his majesty, or whether his custom-house officers are received as in other colonies."—HOLMES' AMERICAN ANNALS, vol. 1, page 385; cited by Mr. HINTON, vol. 1, page 66.

doing they were disposed to part with them at higher prices to nations in the south of Europe, bordering on the sea. And thus the speculative classes, for it can be attributed to none but them, under the rule of the propensities, had the disposition to starve the people of the colonies, when it contributed to their riches, and indirectly, by abandoning them to those whose character was no better than freebooters, be the means of their imprisonment and death. They were accessory before the fact to the enslavement or murder of all navigators of New England who should be so unfortunate as to fall into the hands of Turkish pirates. They were in this manner engaged in the same offenses against whole peoples, for which, in single cases, they were, by their statutes and the law of nations, in the habit of transporting and executing felons.

Even after these oppressive burdens to the colonies, through which a major part of the commercial classes of England had amassed great fortunes, they proceeded by new tactics to emancipate themselves from the payment of home taxes. This was to be effected by discharging a public debt, contracted in their own interests, by redistribution of lands in the colonies. In view of this object, these classes, at a period of history when the British empire was felt by all mankind to be the first among potent nations, through their governor, who, if not in form, was their agent in reality,

proceeded to deprive the farmers of title to their little plantations, for which, to people of Great Britain, payment in full had once been made. He declared the titles to be void, and forced them to repayment. There appeared to be no end to British greed and lust of power; having impoverished the inhabitants by enforcement of the Navigation Act, the abrogation of the charter, and the reduction of agriculturists to want by plundering them of their farms, this agent of British interests imposed restrictions upon marriage ceremonies, public worship, and the administration of estates. These acts were designed to extort money from the people, and, by directing it into another channel, give it to those who were in nowise entitled to it.<sup>13</sup> America was a grand field to amass fortunes for the English, but for no others. But in Massachusetts, no less than in New York, tyranny, by being rendered practical, had the same effect upon the minds of the people.<sup>14</sup> They exhibited a stubborn

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<sup>13</sup> "This latter appointment caused the most gloomy forebodings. Sir Edmond Andros had been governor of New York, and it was known that his conduct there had been arbitrary and tyrannical. Having secured a majority in the council, he assumed control over the press, appointing Randolph licenser. He established new and oppressive regulations concerning taxes, public worship, marriages, and the settlement of estates. His subordinate officers, as well as himself, extorted enormous fees for their services. He declared, that the charter being cancelled, the old titles to land were of no validity, and compelled the inhabitants, in order to avoid suits before judges dependant on his will, to take out new patents, for which large sums were demanded."—HINTON'S UNITED STATES, vol. 1, page 66.

<sup>14</sup> "But, though the charter was gone, the spirit which it had cherished, and the habits which it had formed, were retained."—*IBID.*

opposition; and, if to their antagonists they were unequal in power, they served to render the odious administration of James II unpopular, and somewhat contributed in driving him from the throne.<sup>15</sup>

The people of Virginia were more devoted to the interests of the crown, the aristocracy, and the established church, than were the inhabitants of New England. Through their great fondness of aristocratic origin, they made pretensions to illustrious descent, or in living, aped the manners and extravagance of the landed proprietors of England. By these characteristics, they were regarded, by the people of the home government, as secure dupes to a craft which, if it did not wholly arise, did receive more lasting vigor, and more forbidding impressions from the stagnant state of morals in the middle ages. It was through this state of feeling toward the same race in the east, that the early Virginians received more favor and less despotic administration from the rulers than the other colonists. Their courtier-like dependency upon the most successful pillagers of feudal times, well recommended them

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<sup>15</sup> "Happily, this despotic rule was not of long duration. In the beginning of 1689, a rumor reached Boston that William, prince of Orange, had invaded England, with the intention of dethroning the king. Animated by the hope of deliverance, the people rushed spontaneously to arms, took possession of the fort, seized Andros, Randolph, and other obnoxious persons, and placed them in confinement. A council of safety, consisting of their former magistrates, was then organized to administer the government until authentic intelligence should be received."—HINTON'S UNITED STATES, vol. 1, page 66. See also PALFREY'S HISTORY OF NEW ENGLAND, vol. 3, pages 574 and 575.



to the favor of Charles II; and they were to have the inestimable privilege of being governed by constitutional laws which secured, as the world had been much informed by British statesmen, life, liberty and protection of property to every member of the kingdom, however humble might be his station.<sup>16</sup> Perhaps they supposed it was far better to be in bondage to the crown, as it was easier to submit to his arbitrary measures than be plundered by his eastern commercial subjects through the acts of their parliament. But the people of this colony, like those of the other colonies, were soon brought to contemplate the arbitrary administration of a more potent force than could be constituted by the king and aristocracy alone. When the Navigation Act of the commercial classes was passed, the gross injustice of its terms moved what conscience they were possessed of into active opposition to English misrule.

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<sup>16</sup> "The colonists of Virginia, or a majority of them, were Episcopalians, and attached to the church of England; the religion of that church, indeed, was established by law in the colony; and it is evident that they were strongly in favor of the royal cause. Their warm-hearted loyalty could not fail to be exhilarating to Charles II, during his banishment. He transmitted from Breda a new commission to Sir William Berkeley, as governor of Virginia, declaring his intention of ruling and governing the colony according to the laws and statutes of England, which were to be established there. Thus while that prince was not permitted to rule over a foot of land in England, he exercised the royal jurisdiction over Virginia. On receiving the first account of the restoration, the joy and exultation of the colonists was unbounded."—HINTON'S UNITED STATES, vol. 1, page 36.

Parliament made war on Virginia for this loyalty of the people to the king.—IBID., page 35.



The inhabitants of the Carolinas were subjected to all the indignities and oppression to which a people could be treated. For six years, under the administration of Seth Lothel, the honest were defrauded and robbed. He cultivated crime, and, so far as his influence extended, suppressed all practical appearance of virtue. Devoted by the whole powers of his soul to a vicious life, he persecuted the innocent, but allowed felons to go at large with all the liberty of perfect saints. Although well informed in regard to his character, the home government did not remove him nor interfere to check the corruption of his administration; he was impeached and expelled the colony by the people whom he had so outrageously wronged. During the administration, or plundering adventure, of Colonel Robert Quarry, the government of England, from the Carolinas, encouraged and supplied the pirates of the West Indies. With a prospect that the gold, which these freebooters had taken from their lifeless victims, would eventually flow into the pockets of officers and colonists, enabling the latter to pay their dues of tenancy to the proprietaries, they were treated with more courtesy than men of good manners and morals. They were made associates of the governor, and, being always well received, rendezvoused in the province. Charles II went so far in endorsement of their life and conduct as to knight Henry

Morgan, a piratical chief, for his daring acts on the high seas in violation of the laws of nations.<sup>17</sup> But the morals of this colony were of a detestable nature, for they appeared more turbulent under good governors than when ruled by despotic usurpers. Though this was the character of a small majority, nearly one-half were people of good morals. "Lord Granville, one of the proprietors, a bigoted churchman, in conjunction with the governor," his "tool" and parasite, James Moore, notwithstanding that the Episcopalians were in the minority, by "interfering with the elections and bribing the voters, succeeded in procuring a majority in the assembly," by which the Episcopalian religion was fastened on the people of the colony. "The dissenters thus saw themselves at once deprived of those privileges for which they had abandoned their

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<sup>17</sup> "During the time of his government" [Robert Quarry's] "a number of pirates put into Charleston, and purchased provisions with their Spanish gold and silver. Those public robbers, instead of being tried by the laws of England, were treated with great civility and friendship, in violation of the laws of nations. Whether the governor was ignorant of the treaty made with Spain, by which England had withdrawn her former toleration from these plunderers of the Spanish dominions, or whether he was afraid to bring them to trial from the notorious courage of their companions in the West Indies, we have not sufficient authority to affirm; but one thing is certain, that Charles II, for several years after the restoration, winked at their depredations. \* \* \* \* \* He even knighted Henry Morgan, a Welshman, who had plundered Porto Bello and Panama, and carried off large treasures from them. For several years so formidable was this body of plunderers in the West Indies, that they struck a terror into every quarter of the Spanish dominions. Their gold and silver, which they lavishly spent in the colony, insured them a kind reception among the Carolinians, who opened their ports to them freely, and furnished them with necessaries. They could purchase the favor of the governor and the friendship of the people, for what they deemed a trifling consideration."—HINTON'S UNITED STATES, vol. 1, pages 144 and 145.

native country, and encountered the dangers and the hardships of the ocean, and a wilderness.”<sup>18</sup> If the proprietors, after a long time, had partly discountenanced the transactions of Governor Quarry with the West India pirates, and thereby partially recovered their standing in the eyes of humanity, they, at a subsequent period, exhibited the worst of qualities in refusing to bear any portion of the expense of the great Indian war directed against the inhabitants of the province. The proprietaries being the only land owners, were justly chargeable with the whole expense of the war; and the people, as vassals to their liege lords, were, according to the principles of feudalism, bound to follow their superiors to battle. But in this instance, when the tomahawk, the scalping-knife and the stake threatened every individual in the province, it became extermination to the people or to the Indians. This, fortunately for the whites, proved to be the fate of the latter. After the proprietaries had wholly refused to respond, in the smallest amount, to the payment of the indebtedness incurred, the colonists, like good citizens who were bound that all should equally bear the burdens of the military administration, disposed of the lands, from which the Indians had been driven, to five hundred Irishmen,

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<sup>18</sup> HINTON, vol. 1, page 148: Samuel Walker, Boston, second quarto edition.

appropriating the proceeds of the sale to discharge the public debt. After this people from the "emerald isle" had endured the severest trials at sea, had paid their all, and become settled upon their lands, they were driven from these frontier possessions by Lord Granville and his associates. Many of the exiles died from want.<sup>19</sup> Had the money of these Irish purchasers passed into proprietary possession, no complaints would have been made. "The people were exasperated, and longed for a change of masters; and the corrupt and oppressive conduct of Trott, the chief-justice, and Rhett, the receiver-general, increased the discontent. Of the former the governor and council complained to the proprietors, and solicited his recall; but instead of removing him, they thanked him for his services, and removed the governor and council. They drew up articles of impeachment against Trott, accusing him of corruption and gross misconduct, and sent an agent to England to maintain their accusation before the proprietors; but he was still continued in office."<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> In this war the aborigines almost completely exterminated the settlement of the palatines. So fully was this wrought, that the historian says that "Before them was the repose of innocence; behind, the sleep of death." Eight nations had formed an alliance to murder every inhabitant. The Indian forces were composed of all the warriors contained in the Yamassees, Congarees, Catawbas, Cherokees, Tuscaroras, Corees, Creeks and Apalachians. \* \* \* "The terms offered were so favorable that five hundred Irishmen immediately came over, and planted themselves on lands. The proprietors most unwisely, as well as unjustly, refused to sanction the proceedings of the assembly, and deprived these emigrants of their land. Reduced to extreme poverty, some perished from want."—HINTON'S UNITED STATES, vol. 1, pages 149 and 150.

<sup>20</sup> *IBID.*



But the very beginning of the operations of these grantees, across the sea, was adapted, by the measures of the legal draft, to inspire dread had they been known to the public. In constitutional provisions the proprietors endeavored to bind upon the people those barbarous enormities which originated at an early period with the uncultivated savages of the north of Europe. The pen of a philosopher, John Locke, was employed to draft its articles, among which was one to establish feudalism in America. Three degrees of nobility were to be formed, which ever after were destined to debar the rightful owners of the soil from possession in fee, and make them dependent on those whose ancestors had come into ownership, not by payment, not by law, civil nor natural, but by the assumptions of a superior chief, who, himself, had no claim to exercise such authority except such as he derived by injustice and fraud. The first and most considerable title of nobility established in the colony was that of landgrave, with unalienable possessions of forty-eight thousand acres of land; the third, the cazique, of twenty-four thousand; and the baron, with possession of twelve thousand acres of unalienable land.<sup>21</sup> It will at once be seen that it would

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<sup>21</sup> Three nobles collectively would be entitled to hold 84,000 acres, and, taking an average, would give to the possession of each 28,000 acres. There being in North America 8,500,000 square miles, or 5,440,000,000 acres, it would require but 194,286 such persons to take up the whole vast area.



require but one hundred and ninety-four thousand two hundred and eighty-six persons to hold from the rest of mankind the whole of the vast territory of North America.

But this greed for gold, for power, and for fame, which had overstepped its limits, had trampled on every right, moral and divine, of others, without a symptom of remorse, was about to be deprived of those great and desirable ends for which it yearned. The proprietors were arraigned in court for their corrupt, venal and oppressive conduct toward the colonists, for having grossly violated the compact made with Charles II, which, by its extraordinary terms, had given them almost unlimited power over the Carolinians. The disposition which they manifested to plunder a people whom tyranny and misfortune had planted in the provinces, had been carried into such systematic and active operations that, had the scene of their exploits been laid in England instead of America, they would have at once been degraded from the social ranks which they held in the civil state, convicted as common malefactors, either executed on the scaffold or expelled the kingdom. They, however, did not entirely escape punishment, as they were convicted of the charges alleged against them, to their discomfiture, and, by consequence, declared to have

forever forfeited all rights of ownership to the colonies of the Carolinas.<sup>22</sup> Thus we see how those mental faculties, to which the grantees had become subordinated, when not directed by those of justice and compassion, not only conduct the individual to disappointment, but lead him to those disasters and to that ruin from which he and his posterity can never be wholly emancipated. Egypt, Assyria, Babylon, Persia, Greece, Tyre, Carthage, Syracuse and Rome had been subdued to those faculties, and as they, in their very nature, when uncontrolled by the moral sentiments, are self-destructive to the individual and to the nation, all these ancient states were wiped out of existence, or so far wrecked as to be easily destroyed by any chance soldier of fortune. These men were learned in the history of them all, yet they gathered no salutary lessons from the sad misfortunes of their fall. Although learned in the great events of kings, of remarkable battles, of the constitutions of renowned republics, and all the knavery of modern diplomacy, they were wholly ignorant of the producing causes of true glory and of gross infamy; and one must conclude

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<sup>22</sup> "The agent from Carolina at length procured a hearing from the lords of the regency and council in England, the king being at that time in Hanover, who gave it as their opinion that the proprietors had forfeited their charter, and ordered the attorney-general to take out a scire facias against it. In consequence of this decision, in September, 1720, they appointed General Francis Nicholson provisional governor of the province, with a commission from the king."—HINTON'S UNITED STATES, vol. 1, page 152,

that, whatever might be the opportunities which they possessed for obtaining knowledge, or the positions which they occupied, by the organizations of their minds, they were wholly unqualified to direct the legislative affairs of a nation. Like most politicians, they assumed to know everything; but, in fact, knew nothing more than the history of a few events, and the modes of pulling political wires for their own selfish purpose by corrupting the vulgar. Half a century afterward the same causes, which deprived them of those great possessions, dismembered the British monarchy, and out of the western division erected a powerful rival to her commercial interests. But those injuries which they inflicted on the colonists were slight, when compared to those evil effects which, by hereditary laws, they were destined to produce, through lineal succession, on the moral qualities of England and the society of Europe.

Such was the character of the acts of those who were largely interested, by a pecuniary view, in the plantations of the Carolinas. Millions of acres of land, territory larger than the British Isles, had been granted to these proprietaries by the crown, without the cost to them of a single dollar for the fee. Who could suppose that such great fortune would not be sufficient in itself to induce its recipients to be just, if no more? It is perfectly evident, however, from the

history of their conduct, that it was the direct effect of their lower nature, having greatly fallen behind that semi-moral state, in possession of which their grand ancestors had issued from the storms of the reformation. They had relapsed under an almost complete rule of the animal faculties, a condition which characterized the entire speculative classes of the British nation at the close of the first, and at the beginning of the last, half of the seventeenth century.

All these various acts, arising from egotism and greed, predominating qualities in the larger portion of the English race east of the ocean at this period, continued to act as an external influence on the colonial mind down to the breaking out of war between France and Britain. For the seven years which this war lasted there was, for the first time after the rupture of Henry VIII with the primacy of Rome to 1756, a period of about two hundred and twenty years, a partial repose of the moral faculties of the mind in the Puritans of America.

During the struggles of the primitive elements of morality on this side of the ocean against the selfish and animal qualities of the speculative classes on the other, there had, by reciprocal action, been a corresponding growth in the antagonistic faculties of the two races in both worlds. The parliament of Great Britain was controlled by the passions and prejudices

of men, whose character was in conformity to an age and country which had been molded by relentless civil wars; by strifes of a people to obtain individual power by checking and appropriating the encroachments of the crown, the prerogatives of which they both exalted and diminished at pleasure; by attempting to control the commerce of the great west, which by nature was free to all; by stealing human beings from Africa, and forcing them as slaves on the settlers of North America; by unremitting efforts to accumulate great fortunes by unjustifiable means; and by an odious and belittling ambition for useless titles, for the procurement of which the middle classes did not scruple at any measure employed designed to forward this one object. Internal refinement, produced by virtue and intelligence, had undergone wonderful changes in two generations—existed in great minority and reposed in the tombs of their great ancestors. The condition of mind in the masses of England better resembled those of the later days of Tyre and of Carthage than the earlier ones of Persia and of Rome. It was these elements in the eastern branch of the English race that, through a period of nearly two centuries, performed and mostly finished up the work of emancipating the moral faculties from their bondage to the animal in the inhabitants of America.

At the close of the French war, in 1763, those moral



faculties, which had partially slumbered in want of agitating causes for seven years, were destined to be moved to more active conflicts against man's lower nature than had previously characterized their progress under British rule. The mental powers were, however, better fortified for succeeding antagonisms by confidence of successful resistance to English arrogance, through the moral courage which the propensities had gained in the controversy of the royal house of Brunswick, of Bourbon, and of Castile. When this contention for the entire possession of America, on the continent of which the colonial people had borne the brunt, had terminated, the bellicose tendencies of the ruling classes of England renewed their attacks on English residents of the provinces. "The conquest of Canada had scarcely been effected, when rumors were extensively prevalent that a different system of government was about to be adopted by the parent state; that the charters would be taken away, and the colonies reduced to royal governments. The officers of the customs began to enforce with strictness all the acts of parliament regulating the trade of the colonies, several of which had been suspended or had become obsolete."<sup>23</sup> The principal acts of the British parliament and dependent appointees of the crown, which contributed to promote activity in the moral faculties

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<sup>23</sup> HINTON'S UNITED STATES, vol. 1, page 183.

of the Americans from this time to the dawn of independence, were less potent in number than in nature.<sup>24</sup>

The principles which directed the English mind to that system of commercial restraint which was inflicted on the colonies for about one hundred years, had originated and become thoroughly introduced as part of the policy of government in almost every despotism of Europe. "Might made right," and the weak, under the rule of the strong, had become accustomed to submit to arbitrary exactions. But whatever might have been the principles upon which the nations on the continent were based, it was claimed by English statesmen, and it was true for all practical purposes, that by the constitution, British dominions were territories

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<sup>24</sup> As Mr. Abbott has put these principal questions of contention between the two countries in concise form, I deem it best to subjoin them :

"In the conflict of jurisdiction in respect to the government of the American colonies, between the colonies themselves on the one side, and the king and parliament of Great Britain on the other, there were four principal points in regard to which the parties came most frequently and most earnestly into collision. \* \* \* \* \* These four points, respecting claims made by the British and disallowed and resisted from time to time, with more or less earnestness, by the colonies, were the following :

"1. The English government claimed the exclusive right to regulate and control the whole foreign trade and commerce of the colonies.

"2. They claimed that the judges in all the colonial courts should be not only appointed by the king, that is, by the home government, but that they should hold office not permanently, but only during the king's pleasure, thus making them wholly dependent on his will.

"3. That the governors, too, should not only be appointed by the king or his ministers, but should also be made independent of the colonies, by having a permanent salary settled upon them.

"4. That besides the control of the foreign commerce of the colonies, parliament also had the right of internal taxation, in respect to them—that is, the right to levy taxes upon the people themselves, as they were accustomed to do upon the people of England."—AMERICAN HISTORY, vol. 6, pages 36, 37.

in which political liberty was enjoyed. Laws, however, may be created with the most equitable provisions, yet if the qualities of a majority of the people are such that they cannot be carried into effect, there is no more protection to the person and to the rights of property under and by them, than there would be did such laws have no existence. Such was the condition in which the British government and its dependent colonies were placed. Yet it being known to English lawyers that whatever might be the customs and usages of other nations toward their colonists, they had no binding influence on British subjects by which the same could be erected into a system in any of the territories of Great Britain without first having passed parliament and become a law of the empire, it became necessary for the legislature to give formal sanction to a measure which was in keeping only with the most absolutely despotic minds.

There was, however, one difficulty which British statesmen had to surmount, that did not arise to interfere with the autocratic wishes of the other nations in their progress of legal and political frauds. This difficulty was one of the fundamental laws of the constitution, which gave every subject the privilege of representation. Without the subject was represented, he could not be bound by any of the acts of parliament, because he was not party thereto; the principles

of contracts being the basis upon which the constitution and the whole judicature of Great Britain were reposed. Whether this principle of the constitution was, during the reign of George III, carried into practical operation or not, it was, nevertheless, the palladium of English liberty, and will forever be the most distinguishing feature which made British civilization superior to her great contemporary powers. “‘The declaratory bill,’ a bill affirming the right of parliament to tax America, ‘now lying on your table,’ said Camden in the house of lords in 1766, ‘is absolutely illegal; contrary to the fundamental laws of nature; contrary to the fundamental laws of this constitution: a constitution grounded on the eternal and immutable laws of nature; a constitution, whose foundation and center is liberty; which sends liberty to every subject that is, or may happen to be, within any part of its ample circumference. Nor, my lords, is the doctrine new; it is as old as the constitution; it grew up with it, indeed it is its support; taxation and representation are inseparably united; God hath joined them; no British parliament can separate them; to endeavor to do it, is to stab our very vitals. My position is this; I repeat it; I will maintain it to my last hour; taxation and representation are inseparable. Whatever is a man’s own, is absolutely his own; no man hath a right to take it from him without his



consent, either expressed by himself or his representative; whoever attempts to do it, attempts an injury; whoever does it, commits a robbery.'"<sup>25</sup> "As subjects, they'" [the Americans] "'are entitled to the common right of representation, and cannot be bound to pay taxes without their consent.

"Taxation is no part of the governing power. The taxes are a voluntary gift and grant of the commons alone. In an American tax, what do we do? We, your majesty's commons of Great Britain, give and grant to your majesty,—what? Our own property? No. We give and grant to your majesty the property of your majesty's commons in America. It is an absurdity in terms.'"<sup>26</sup> Taxation without representation was regarded by the ablest statesmen and lawyers of the empire as a legislative fraud, not on the Americans only, but on the great masses of England also. Up to the time of the passage of c. 7, by 8 Henry VI, suffrage was exercised by all in England, however small might be the amount of their fortunes.<sup>27</sup> Before the passage of this

<sup>25</sup> Speech in the house of lords, as quoted by BANCROFT, vol. 5, page 447.

<sup>26</sup> SPEECH OF WILLIAM PITT, in the house of commons, January 14, 1766. *IBID.*, 384.

<sup>27</sup> The exordium of this act acknowledges universal suffrage: "Item. 'Whereas the elections of knights of shires to come to the parliaments of our lord the king, in many counties of the realm of England, have now of late been made by very great, outrageous, and excessive numbers of people, dwelling within the same counties of the realm of England, of the which, most part was of people of small substance and of no value, whereof every of them pretended a voice equivalent as to such elections to be made with the most



act, suffrage had long been universal, had become the settled law of the land, having had its origin in nature, and finally become established by immemorial usage as a fundamental law of the British constitution. No statesman of England ever before claimed that a subject could be taxed without he was represented, yet these "rotten parliaments," as they were called, entirely ignored this constitutional law whenever it conflicted with their passions or interests. The house of commons owed its creation to the suffrages of the nation, it was subordinate to the people, it could not have been superior to its creator; and hence, when the act was passed which made forty shillings of free lands the qualification of the right to the ballot, it became only the expressed wish of those who passed it, and not a law, as a constitutional measure had limited legislative power. Yet as a majority of the members of the legislature would have small chances of success in succeeding elections for new parliaments under this impartial law of the constitution, they, in connection with the aristocratic branch, claimed that parliament was the supreme sovereign power of the kingdom, and that the constitution was composed of legislative enactments. By

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worthy knights and esquires dwelling within the same counties, whereby manslaughter, riots, batteries and divisions among gentlemen of the same counties shall very likely rise and be unless,' etc."—THE ENGLISH CONSTITUTION, by DR. FISCHER, page 422.

this unwarrantable assumption of power almost the entire legislature were in rebellion against the rights of the people, and continued in usurpation of those rights, without any modification, from the reign of Henry VI to the passage of the Reform Bill in 1832, a period of four centuries.<sup>28</sup>

It was by virtue of this constitutional law that the parliament of Great Britain had no authority to impose internal or external taxes on the colonists of America. They had never been represented at Westminster, and had they submitted to taxation by the parliament, it would have placed them in a worse condition than that of slaves let out for reward. The Navigation Act, which, for many years, had enriched the commercial classes of England, was, to use plain language, open robbery. What made it still worse, it was performed under color of legislative authority, when forty per cent. of the members knew that no

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<sup>28</sup> William Pitt, the earl of Chatham, awed the house of commons into an acquiescence and acknowledgment of this truth when he said: "According to the theory of our constitution there should be a constant connection between the representatives and the electors. Will any say that this connection now exists?" And Paley, after having laid bare the evils of the electoral system, affirms—"In the end it would only come to this, who ought to be elected? and not who should elect?" Junius is entirely of opinion," [before the Reform Bill.] "that just as easily as they may disfranchise rotten boroughs, even so might they disfranchise all commoners by a parliamentary resolution."—FISCHELL, *ENGLISH CONSTITUTION*, page 434. It is extremely doubtful if the acts passed by the parliaments during the time which elapsed from the Disfranchising Act to the Reform Bill, 1832, were binding upon other residents in England than such as had a voice in creating the house of commons. If statutes were enforced by the courts upon the disfranchised, it was, it seems to us, only adding judicial to legislative frauds.

such authority existed, that when officers, under pretense of official duty, commit a misdemeanor, it becomes a more aggravated case of felony than if perpetrated by private individuals. Yet the house of commons had pretended to represent the body of the nation for four centuries, comprising in its embrace more than one-fourth of the period from the fall of the Roman empire in the west, to the passage of the Stamp Act in 1765. It had gradually, without order or system, degenerated into a body of brigands. All this was as well known to able lawyers and statesmen on this side of the ocean as it was to those of the same degree of ability and acquirement on the other. Samuel Adams, James Otis and their compeers in America did not fail in their duty in making known to the people the true condition of the premises, and in advising them of their rights. The passage of the Navigation Act, the Stamp Act, the Declaratory Bill, the extension of the Mutiny Act to American colonies, and those other acts of parliament which related to the administration of the thirteen colonies, together with the constant interference of the crown to reduce them to royal governments, to make judges, governors and all appointees dependent upon favors of the royal court, kept the feelings of the Americans in a furious state of resistance and revolution from the close of the French war, in 1763, to the nineteenth of April, 1775,

when the slaves of Brunswick were addressed in no very flattering terms on the bloody field of Lexington.

During the whole period of this political revolution, before things had so culminated as to place both divisions of the empire in armed opposition to each other, there were but very few members of either branch of the British legislature who had sufficient moral courage to raise a voice or cast a vote against those acts which were as much in subversion of English liberty at Westminster as at the plantations of America.<sup>29</sup> Even the "Great Commoner" urged that "The sovereign power of this country over the colonies be asserted in as strong terms as can be advised, and be made to extend to every part of legislation, that we may bind their trade, confine their manufactures and exercise every power whatsoever except" raising a revenue from them by internal taxation.<sup>30</sup> "If ever one lived more zealous than another for the supremacy of parliament and the rights of the imperial crown, it was Edmund Burke.'

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<sup>29</sup> "In the commons, the resolution," [right to tax America,] "was presented by Conway, who himself, at the time of passing the Stamp Act, had publicly and almost alone denied the right of parliament to impose the tax and twice within twenty days had publicly reiterated that opinion. He now treated the question of power as a point of law, which parliament might take up. For himself, he should never be for internal taxes. He would sooner cut off his right hand than sign an order for sending out a force to maintain them. Yet he begged not to be understood to pledge himself for future measures, not even for the repeal of the Stamp Act."—BANCROFT'S HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES, vol. 5, page 415.

<sup>30</sup> BANCROFT'S HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES, vol. 5, page 395. See also vol. 6, page 351.

He was the advocate 'of unlimited legislative power over the colonies.' His wishes were 'very earnest to keep the whole body of this authority perfect and entire.' ”<sup>31</sup>

The whole members of parliament were so intoxicated with the desire to arrive at political distinction, office, power and fortune, that each, wishing to be foremost in being applauded by the popular sentiments of the masses, or advanced by favors of the crown, vied with the other in robbing and crushing America. As a generality, the ministers of the times were corrupt beyond comparison, were the leading members of parliament, and were nought but a fair representation of its moral qualities. But what were the moral qualities of this parliament? Let the historian, who has studied the character of its acts more than any other, testify: "The administration of public affairs had degenerated into a system of patronage, which had money for its object, and was supported by the king from the love of authority. The government of England had more and more ceased to be the representative of the noble spirit of England. The twelfth parliament, which was now drawing to a close, had never been rivalled in its bold profligacy. Its predecessors had been corrupt." "But there never was a parliament so shameless in its corruption as this

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<sup>31</sup> BANCROFT'S HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES, vol. 5, page 397.



twelfth parliament, which virtually severed America from England. It had its votes ready for anybody that was minister, and for any measure that the minister of the day might propose. It gave an almost unanimous support to Pitt, when, for the last time in seventy years, the sovereign politics of England were on the side of liberty. It had a majority for Newcastle after he had ejected Pitt; for Bute when he dismissed Newcastle; for Grenville when he became Bute's implacable foe; and for the slender capacity of the inexperienced Rockingham. The shadow of Chat-ham, after his desertion of the house, could sway its decision. When Charles Townshend, rebelling in the cabinet, seemed likely to become minister, it listened to him. When Townshend died, North easily restored subordination.

“Nor was it less impudent as to measures. It promoted the alliance with the king of Prussia, and deserted him; it protected the issue of general war-rants, and utterly condemned them. It was corrupt, and it knew itself to be corrupt, and made a jest of its own corruption. While it lasted, it was ready to bestow its favors on any minister or party; and when it was gone, and had no more chance at prostitution, men wrote its epitaph as of the most scandalously abandoned body that England had ever known.”<sup>32</sup> Of

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<sup>32</sup> BANCROFT'S HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES, vol. 6, page 137.

the succeeding parliament, the historian says: "The thirteenth British parliament, the last which ever legislated over America, was returned. So infamous was the old house in public esteem, that one hundred and seventy of its members failed of being rechosen. But still corruption lost nothing of its effrontery; boroughs were sold openly, and votes purchased at advanced prices. The market value of a seat in parliament was four thousand pounds; at which rate the whole venal house would have been bought for not much over two millions sterling, and a majority for not much over one million."<sup>33</sup>

The house of commons was constantly being banded abroad by Englishmen, who boasted of their liberty, as of a democratic nature, whereas it was so only in the manner of its deliberations after the reign of Henry VI, but did not come into constitutional existence by an impartial election of its members. It originated from the pockets of the rich, and not from the voice of the people.

"Rotten boroughs were put up publicly for sale; Jews and Catholics were not allowed to sit in parliament; but if they had cash enough, none could prevent them from purchasing rotten boroughs, and thereby exercising a direct influence on politics. In 1814, Lady Montague wrote thus to her husband:

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<sup>33</sup> BANCROFT'S HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES, vol. 6, page 147.

‘The best thing will be to entrust a certain sum to a good friend, and buy a small Cornwall borough.’ In 1761, the ‘nabobs’ entered the field as purchasers; in 1766, the borough of Sudbury was publicly put up for sale. Winchelsea, in 1784, had but three voters, and was the property of a rich nabob; the borough of Bassiney, in Cornwall, had one voter only. A borough which had been swallowed up by the sea, still continued to be represented; the owner of the beach on which it had stood rowed out in a boat with three voters, and there played out the electoral farce. In 1790 there were thirty boroughs, with three hundred and seventy-five voters, which sent sixty members to the lower house—amongst them Tiverton, with its fourteen voters; Tavistock, having only ten freeholders; and St. Michael’s, with seven scot and lot voters, returned one member each.” But “in 1790, five hundred towns, although possessing an industrial population, not unfrequently wealthy, remained unrepresented, from the simple fact that the rich merchants and manufacturers were not at the same time ‘freeholders’ in the country.”<sup>34</sup>

Nor was the manner in which the house of commons came into existence in these degenerate days less fraudulent of the rights of the people in Scotland and Ireland than in England. “At an election at Bute,

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<sup>34</sup> DR. FISCHELL, pages 426 and 427.

not beyond the memory of man, only one person attended the meeting, except the sheriff and the returning officer. He, of course, took the chair, constituted the meeting, called over the roll of freeholders, answered to his own name, took the vote, as to the presses, and elected himself. He then moved and seconded his own nomination, put the question as to the vote, and was unanimously returned. None, of course, took the slightest part in the elections, which were usually conducted in some small room. The Scotch magnates nominated nearly all the Scotch members, and sold themselves with their *protégés* to the ministry of the day. In Ireland, two-thirds of the one hundred members were 'nominated' by some sixty influential patrons. The thoroughly aristocratic character of the lower house in the eighteenth century renders the striking sameness in its outward features somewhat explicable."<sup>35</sup>

"Previous to the union with Ireland only about one hundred and thirty or one hundred and forty English members had been actually *elected*; as these members preserved the equipoise between the two aristocratic factions, a stout fight occurred in the places of election; whenever one party sought to insure the return, bribery was the ready instrument at hand. \* \* \*

"In the eighteenth century bribery was the rule in

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<sup>35</sup> DR. FISCHELL, pages 430 and 431.

all boroughs dependent on the aristocracy; thus, in the election of 1754 very gross bribery prevailed and out of forty-two elections only one electoral contest actually took place; still more lavish was the bribery resorted to in 1761. Foot, in one of his comedies, makes an elector to say: 'When I first became an elector, I could only get thirty guineas for a pair of knight's boots, whereas my neighbor, for just the same affair, had the luck to receive a fifty pound note for a pair of wash-leather breeches.'

"In 1790 a gooseberry-bush was sold, during election, for eight hundred pounds; thus astutely were the penal enactments evaded.

"In 1767 Lord Chesterfield wrote to his son, 'that rotten boroughs were to be had for three thousand to five thousand pounds,' but they soon rose to nine thousand pounds."<sup>36</sup> But the minor evil acts of candidates to gain admission into the lower house were not less disreputable, for they were as much designed to purchase the favor of the voting masses as though they paid down a certain sum in gold. Doctor Fischell quotes Lord Jeffrey as saying, "In three and a half hours I knocked at six hundred and thirty-five doors, and shook four hundred and ninety-four people by the hand." And upon this particular head a disaffected Englishman exclaims, "nothing is so common

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<sup>36</sup> DR. FISCHELL, page 429.



as a candidate! this familiarity has made the populace so impertinent, they are all a purchasable and corrupt rabble.”<sup>37</sup>

Of a body which had come into existence by vice and fraud, what could be expected but outrages on the legislative code? If criminals become law-makers, their deliberations, without the shadow of a doubt, will correspond to their mental condition, and partake of a felonious character. And such was the true condition of several parliaments of Great Britain, one hundred years after the colonies were planted and before the American revolt. The Americans, during the whole period of the political controversy, desired to be governed by constitutional law, but strenuously resisted piratical regulations.

In the contemporary moralist, this state of things must have produced the melancholy reflection, that virtue was in great minority in a race once the noblest in modern Europe; that like the final operations of the living body, the moral faculties easily become incurable and mortal; that in the great majority of the present parliament as in those and their generations which immediately preceded it, they had already moldered to decay. The greatest exhibitions of Roman valor sagacity and power were offered upon

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<sup>37</sup> DR. FISCHELL, page 432.

the grave of Roman liberties, for comparatively but a short period of time after Hannibal had ceased to breathe, the laws of the republic were trailed in the dust. In fifty-two or three years after the African chieftain had struck terror into the inhabitants of Rome by the energy of the sword, his native city and his people were no more. In quick succession to the termination of the Peloponnesian war, the independence of the Hellenic states was gone; the will, the welfare, the personal freedom, the very lives of the Greeks, were made dependent on the behests of a Macedonian prince. This analogy of decline and progress, in synchroniety, of various mental qualities in dissimilar governments, races and ages, was, perhaps, felt by Pitt, Camden, Conway, Barre and their colleagues, many of whom were among the most comprehensive statesmen and debaters of the eighteenth century. Britain had arrived at the summit of all national glory, had become mistress of the seas and extended the blessings of an enlightened civilization, under constitutional laws, over nearly a fourth of the earth's population. But now, in presence of the "Great Commoner," to whom the empire principally owed its unparalleled fortune, in presence of him whose main aspirations in life had been to promote the interests of his country, and alleviate the sufferings of man, it appeared to be receding and taking up a

position among the effete and worn-out monarchies of a half civilized age. Chatham was approaching his fifty-seventh birth-day when the stamp act was passed, in bad health, and breaking more from the pressure of disease than the infirmity of years. His health was, indeed, gone, but his love for England and her laws was as bright as when he humbled the Bourbons and raised up Britain to be the most potent nation in Europe. Notwithstanding his great ability, his past services to his country, his acute sensibilities on questions of right and wrong, touching the welfare of his countrymen, the parasites of despotism would not postpone the burial of constitutional grandeur till the great man had ceased to be. He had long witnessed with pride the progress of his country, but was now forced to contemplate the humility of its morals and the decline of its power. With extreme anguish of mind, his penetrating intellect parted the veil, which usually obscures the future from mortal vision, and foresaw one branch of his race arrayed against the other in fraternal strife; he beheld the throne of the Bourbons, endorsed by a polished and powerful nation, united with the weak and oppressed of his own kindred, language, laws and religion. The democratic portion of the British legislature, within his memory, had degenerated into a farce, and become a foul receptacle in which were hatched the embryos of

tyrannic measures. Supported by a misguided multitude, it had the might to crush the last hope of those who had been subjected to every misfortune among a wilderness of relentless foes. But amidst the sufferings which British arms would then be inflicting on the brave and injured, he saw that they had kindled the spirit of revenge in an absolute prince, an ancient enemy, and the magnanimity of a people whose kinder qualities had not yet become hardened to the cruelties of man's more savage nature. He beheld his country issuing from the terrible conflict drenched in blood, dismembered, dishonored, broken in spirits and crushed in hopes, the scorn of the world; public burdens increased by augmented debts, and the arbiter of Europe numbered among the subordinate if not among the fallen powers of the earth. These were more than adequate to press him into his grave, and if not the last, he was far from being the first who owed to his countrymen the sorrows of a broken heart.

Although the glory of Britain had departed and gone, was, in two or three generations, lost to the world, it planted and unconsciously cultivated those immortal principles in the inhabitants of the New World, where it was uninfluenced by the corruptions which, nearly to completion, had twice decomposed them in the different tribes and principalities of Europe. The unjust measures which issued from the body of

corruption, for such the commercial classes and the British parliament had become, produced their effects on the moral faculties of the Americans. Political acts of a government, which bear upon the interests of a portion of its people, when those acts partake the characteristics of injustice and fraud, never have failed, and never will fail, of producing an excited action in those faculties of the mind whose peculiar functions are to give birth to feelings of benevolence and justice. The effects correspond to the enormity of the acts. Such was the true condition of things between the east and the west. While those immortal faculties were in process of decay in Great Britain, they were in corresponding growth in America; while they were being lost in the eastern branch of the English race, they were being saved in the western. The manner of their death there, insured and nurtured their growth here, to a greater degree of vitality than had been known in Europe posterior to the days of Numa and of Cincinattus, and that on the whole, although their tendency had been downward more than upward, they had reached, in the Americans, a higher elevation than had existed in the world for two thousand years.

In the noble inhabitants of Virginia and the Carolinas, it is observable that by the year 1775 there had been a marvelous change, if not an entire creation of



character. From aristocratic they had become democratic in feeling; from tenacious fondness for clinging to perverted tastes and fashions of an old civilization now passing away, they, with all that elegance of bearing which ever distinguished the cultivated southerner, came forward with the sons of the more northern colonies and inaugurated the new civilization upon the ruins of the passing one. To the unconstitutional acts of the British oligarchy they opposed no repulsive boasting, no daring disposition; none of those types of depravity which are common to the ruffian warrior and coarse politician found a repository in the classical minds which composed the representative material of these southern colonists. Combining the abilities and mildness of Melancthon with the heroic qualities of Luther, they gave no exhibitions of bravado, but resisted the piratical claims of the British parliament with a true courtesy and an undiminishable firmness. Nothing but justice was asked, and that only, to all British subjects of the west, would be received. The moral faculties, having reached a potency over the mind unparalleled in the Christian era, would not permit their possessors to be degraded, bribed, swerved, influenced nor ensnared.

Nor was this growth of the primitive moral elements less remarkable in the inhabitants of the northern than in those of the southern colonies. The former, in

the time of the early settlement of the country, were more gloomy in their spiritual belief, and less royalist in sentiment. The persistent efforts of Samuel Adams and James Otis, toward the close of this period of moral culture, fanned the flames of indignation in the masses of the Americans; and to no small degree sharpened and pointed the minds and memories of British statesmen on the constitutional laws of the empire.

The breaking out of hostilities into belligerent acts was but another form of the old antagonism between virtue, bravery and poverty on the one hand, and the principles of piracy merged in a visible hypocrisy on the other. It was but a continuation of the struggle between these combatants of the internal world. The sympathies of a majority of the nations on the eastern continent were enlisted on the side of the former, Britain being both feared and hated by every nation in the world. Among them all she had not a single friend. The more the aristocracy of the mother country had attempted to curtail the increasing power of the new and little understood rising empire of America, the more the latter extended its principles over the earth, taking root in France, Germany, Italy, Austria, Poland, and even in the British isles themselves. The long looked-for aurora of a new dispensation, "the good time coming," had at last made itself visible to the

suffering millions. The doctrines of those mental faculties, which had the last half of their restoration in the "New World," had spread out, like the cloud seen by Elijah from Mount Carmel, until they covered the whole horizon of the political world, threatening the transposition of the same principles to the decaying thrones of European monarchies. Their practical operations finally swept the absolute government of the Bourbons and its dependent and corrupt aristocracy out of existence, and, amid the storms of fury, madness and folly to which their principles had been traduced, the lives of many noble men and women are to be regretted, the sorrowful circumstances surrounding their melancholy fate wringing tears from the eyes of the better portion of mankind. The "gray powers of the old world" now for the first time felt the insecurity of their positions, that they were as uncertain as volcanic eruptions. They began feebly to comprehend that in view only of immediate consequences, a justice as inevitable as inexorable was sure to overtake and punish the prince as the pauper. For eighteen centuries, the warning "flee from the wrath to come" had not been pronounced in more unmistakable terms, or with more ominous significance. Those nations ruled by princes of weak understandings, of conceited and despotic feelings, thoroughly disciplined in the trade of reducing their subjects to bondage,

starvation and death, although they hated Britain, looked upon every American as a mortal enemy to their existence.

From soon after the settlement of the colonies to the breaking out of political hostilities, all the colonies had opposed the farther introduction of slaves among them, and frequently petitioned the imperial government to put an end to the trade.<sup>38</sup> They looked upon the bondage of one human being to another as a violation of natural and divine law, a heinous crime against God and man.<sup>39</sup> But as stealing negroes in Africa and selling them as slaves to western planters was a lucrative business to English merchants, in harmony

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<sup>38</sup> See HINTON'S UNITED STATES, vol. 1; BANCROFT'S HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES, vols. 4 and 5; and HISTORY OF SLAVERY IN THE COLONIES chap. 21.

<sup>39</sup> The following is no more than a moderate representation of the feelings existing in nearly all the people of the several provinces: "In the year 1772, a disposition favorable to the oppressed Africans became very generally manifest in some of the American provinces. The house of burgesses of Virginia even presented a petition to the king, beseeching his majesty to remove all those restraints on his governors of that colony, which inhibited their assent to such laws as might check that inhuman and impolitic commerce, the slave-trade: and it is remarkable that the refusal of the British government to permit the colonists to exclude slaves from among them by law, was enumerated afterward among the public reasons for separating from the mother country.

"In allusion to the fact just stated, Mr. Jefferson, in his draft of the Declaration of Independence, said; 'He' [the king of England] 'has waged civil war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty, in the persons of a distant people, who never offended him; captivating and carrying them into another hemisphere, or to incur a miserable death in their transportation thither. This piratical warfare, the opprobrium of infidel powers, is the warfare of the Christian king of Great Britain.'"—BLAKE'S HISTORY OF SLAVERY, page 177.

with their feelings of avarice, the royal will forced the slaveholders to submit. The Americans had two distinct views in which they contemplated the case; the first and principal reason, as already suggested, and the second, that trouble might be apprehended from a rising of the blacks should they greatly outnumber the whites. The former was the most important objection, bearing strongest upon their feelings, and they looked forward to the time when the humanities of the mother country would predominate over its vices, enabling the master to emancipate his slaves, as the condition of their tenure was a too repulsive and degenerate form of an odious feudalism.<sup>40</sup> But in less than half a century from 1772, it is observable that these sentiments respecting human slavery, in certain sections of the country, had become reversed. From a desire to abolish it as an enormity at the first part of that period, at the last there appeared a disposition to bind it more firmly and promote its extension.<sup>41</sup>

After the passage of the act, in 1808, to prohibit the

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<sup>40</sup> Consult evidence, compiled by Mr. Helper, of the feelings of Washington, of Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Henry, Randolph and others of the south; and of Dr. Franklin, Hamilton, Jay, Adams and others of the north. *IMPENDING CRISIS*, ch. 3 and 4; also *BLAKE'S HISTORY OF SLAVERY*, ch. 21.

<sup>41</sup> As to this change in the character of the Southern states on this question, see the struggle which they maintained in congress in 1819-20, to procure the admission of Missouri territory into the union with a slave constitution. *AMERICAN STATESMAN*, ch. 23; more especially *BLAKE'S HISTORY OF SLAVERY* ch. 24, in which all the violent debates are detailed in full.



importation of Africans from abroad into the United States, Maryland, Virginia and the Carolinas became the great marts from which the settlers of the southwestern states and territories were supplied.<sup>42</sup> The policy of the British government had been to subject one entire people to servitude by the acts of a spurious legislature, by which means, after having first of all introduced and promoted African slavery among them, she could easily flatter the planter that he was lord, while the truth was that his condition became worse than that of his slaves; for besides being without political rights, and thus himself a serf, he, in time, also entered into more repulsive bondage to his own evil passions, by the evil effects which slavery has never failed to produce upon the master.<sup>43</sup>

But after the twenty-fifth of September, 1783, when the independence of the United States of America was

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<sup>42</sup> "The settlement of the southwest proceeded rapidly after the war," [war of 1812.] The great profits derived from the cultivation of cotton kept the African slave-trade alive in spite of the prohibitory laws. The domestic slave-trade increased, and Washington became a great resort of the traders, who were engaged in buying up slaves in Maryland and Virginia for transportation to the southwest. Governor Williams, of South Carolina, in a message to the legislature, denounced 'this remorseless and merciless traffic, this ceaseless dragging along the street of a crowd of suffering victims to minister to insatiable avarice.' This which he condemned was the domestic slave-trade."—BLAKE'S HISTORY OF SLAVERY, pages 449 and 450.

<sup>43</sup> In the debates at the time of the adoption of the federal constitution in convention, Mr. Mason, of Virginia, and most others of that body, held similar views. In the course of the debate on the three-fifths representative clause, Mr. Mason said: 'Slavery discourages arts and manufactures. The poor despise labor when performed by slaves. They produce a pernicious

acknowledged by the British crown at Paris, there were such modifications in the external circumstances of the slave-holder as, in years, to prove fatal to his freedom, although they did not effect his political independence. The invention of the spinning jenny in 1796, by Hargrave, and soon after, that of the gin, increased the demands for cotton in England and also in the rest of Europe. Cotton goods, subsequent to these great inventions, were manufactured with greater rapidity, and of course in much larger quantities. The goods fell in price, and were more freely used by all. The scarcity of the raw material, caused, first by the reduction in the price of cotton goods, and second, by its more extensive use in consequence of the first, multiplied the amount of skilled and agricultural labor which had formerly existed for its production. As the consumption of the product became greater, the price of the raw material was enhanced. This addressed itself to the acquisitive feelings of the planters of America and both the Indies, the sources from which manufacturers drew their supplies. As the history of all nations testifies, there is but one step from a proper degree of acquisitiveness to its degenerate

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effect on manners. Every master of slaves is born a petty tyrant. They bring the judgment of heaven on a country. He lamented that some of our eastern brethren, from a lust of gain, had embarked in this nefarious traffic. He held it essential, in every point of view, that the general government should have power to prevent the increase of slavery."—BLAKE'S HISTORY OF SLAVERY, page 397.

form, avariciousness. Although this descent must be gradual, by certain combinations of external circumstances it may be effected in a single generation.

The only manner by which the morals of a state can be studied, with any prospect of arriving at a tolerable solution of its metaphysical status, at a given period, is, in our opinion, by contemplating the events and acts of the people comprising that state in successive steps up to that given period from the era in which it was founded, or by contrasting the movements of the masses on different questions, at or about the time of political organization, to the conduct of the nation at an age when the moral faculties of mind present such appearances as warrant the belief that they have suffered a partial or a total overthrow.

As vice is in antagonism with virtue, so is slavery with freedom. The one, in both cases, is the opposite of the other. Both cannot exist in harmony, or to an equal degree, long among a people. The one, by its very nature, will first subordinate and then extinguish all controlling influence of the other. Accordingly, we find, at two different periods, not **very remote from** each other, in the history of this country, that the propensities and moral sentiments were almost in continual conflict over the question of slavery. Before, at the time of, and immediately subsequent to, the days of the revolution, the very great majority of the people of

the federal states were firmly opposed to its existence. But in 1820, thirty-seven years after the complete establishment of our independence, as has been observed, these sentiments in the majority had become as much reversed. The fathers of the republic, in whose wisdom and virtue the people placed sufficient confidence to elect them as their representatives in all political bodies assembled in the dominions prior and subsequent to the birth of freedom, were one and all positively opposed to slavery. They were the chosen representatives of the people on questions of ethics, for this was the main point on which all controversies had been maintained between the two countries for at least one hundred and fifty years. And what were the expressed sentiments of these great advocates of freedom? "I never mean, unless some particular circumstances should compel me to it, to possess another slave by purchase; it being among my first wishes to see some plan adopted by which slavery, in this country, may be abolished by law."<sup>44</sup> "I can only say, that there is not a man living who wishes more sincerely than I do, to see a plan adopted for the abolition of it. But there is only one proper and effectual mode by which it can be accomplished, and that is by legislative authority; and this, so far as my suffrage will go, shall never be wanting."<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Letter of George Washington to J. F. Mercer, September 9, 1786.

<sup>45</sup> Letter of George Washington to Robert Morris, April 12, 1786.

“The scheme, my dear marquis, which you propose as a precedent, to encourage the emancipation of the black people in this country from the state of bondage in which they are held, is a striking evidence of the benevolence of your heart. I shall be happy to join you in so laudable a work; but will defer going into detail of the business till I have the pleasure of seeing you.”<sup>46</sup> That a gradual emancipation of slavery was, after the revolution, the predominant feeling of the greater part of the inhabitants of Maryland and Virginia, appears from the following: “There are in Pennsylvania laws for the gradual abolition of slavery, which neither Virginia nor Maryland have at present, but which nothing is more certain than they must have, and at a period not remote.”<sup>47</sup>

The author of the Declaration of Independence says: “There must doubtless be an unhappy influence on the manners of our people, produced by the existence of slavery among us. The whole commerce between master and slave is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions—the most unremitting despotism on the one part, and degrading submission on the other. Our children see this, and learn to imitate it, for man is an imitative animal. This quality is the germ of all education in him. From his cradle to his

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<sup>46</sup> Letter of George Washington to De Lafayette, April 15, 1783.

<sup>47</sup> Letter of George Washington to Sir John Sinclair.



grave, he is learning to do what he sees others do. If a parent could find no motive, either in his philanthropy or his self-love, restraining the intemperance of passion toward his slave, it should always be a sufficient one that his child is present. But generally it is not sufficient. The parent storms, the child looks on, catches the lineaments of wrath, puts on the same airs in the circle of smaller slaves, gives a loose rein to the worst of passions; and, thus nursed, educated, and daily exercised in tyranny, cannot but be stamped by it with odious peculiarities. The man must be a prodigy who can retain his manners and morals undepraved by such circumstances. And with what execration should the statesman be loaded, who, permitting one-half the citizens thus to trample on the rights of the other, transforms those into despots and these into enemies, destroys the morals of the one part, and the *amor patriæ* of the other; for if a slave can have a country in this world, it must be any other in preference to that in which he was born to live and labor for another; in which he must lock up the faculties of his nature, contribute, as far as depends on his individual endeavors, to the evanishment of the human race, or entail his own miserable condition on the endless generations proceeding from him. With the morals of the people, their industry also is destroyed; for, in a warm climate, no man will labor for himself

who can make another labor for him. This is so true, that of the proprietors of slaves a very small proportion, indeed, are ever seen to labor. And can the liberties of a nation be thought secure, when we have removed their only firm basis?" \* \* \* "Indeed, I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just; that this justice cannot sleep forever."<sup>48</sup> And, again, in the convention of 1774, of Virginia, Jefferson further denounced slavery and the British government for having introduced and licensed the African slave trade. The following shows that he represented the sentiments of the masses of his state on the question of slavery when he said: "The abolition of domestic slavery is the greatest object of desire in these colonies, where it was unhappily introduced in their infant state."<sup>49</sup> That the feelings of Jefferson were those of the majority of the colonists, would appear from the original draft of the Declaration of Independence. Although this clause was rejected by the convention, it was doubtless done because it was irrelevant to the cause of the colonists, being in the nature of an indictment of George III for high crimes and misdemeanors committed against people nowise politically connected with Americans. He says: "He has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred

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<sup>48</sup> JEFFERSON'S NOTES ON VIRGINIA, pages 39 and 40.

<sup>49</sup> HELPER'S IMPENDING CRISIS, page 196.

rights of life and liberty, in the persons of a distant people who never offended him, captivating and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither. This piratical warfare, the opprobrium of infidel powers, is the warfare of the Christian king of Great Britain. Determined to keep a market where men should be bought and sold, he has at length prostituted his negative for suppressing any attempt to prohibit and restrain this execrable commerce.”<sup>50</sup> And, “Northward of the Chesapeake, you may find, here and there, an opponent of your doctrine,” [emancipation,] “as you may find, here and there, a robber and murderer; but in no great number. Emancipation is put into such a train, that in a few years there will be no slaves northward of Maryland. In Maryland, I do not find such a disposition to begin the redress of this enormity as in Virginia. This is the next state to which we may turn our eyes for the interesting spectacle of justice in conflict with avarice and oppression, a conflict wherein the sacred side is gaining daily recruits.”<sup>51</sup>

Mr. Madison published similar views when he said: “The dictates of humanity, the principles of the people, the national safety and happiness, and prudent policy, require it of us. It is hoped that by expressing

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<sup>50</sup> HELPER'S IMPENDING CRISIS, page 196.

<sup>51</sup> *IBID.*

a national disapprobation of the trade, we may *destroy* it, and save our country from reproaches, and our posterity from the imbecility ever attendant on a country filled with slaves." And "it is wrong to admit into the constitution the idea that there can be property in man."

"In the thirty-ninth number of *The Federalist*, he says: 'The first question that offers itself is, whether the general form and aspect of the government be strictly republican. It is evident that no other form would be reconcilable with the genius of the American people, and with the fundamental principles of the revolution, or with that honorable determination which animates every votary of freedom, to rest all our political experiments on the capacity of mankind for self-government.' And in the federal convention he thought that, 'in the third, where slavery exists, the republican theory becomes still more fallacious.' On another occasion, 'We have seen the mere distinction of color made, in the most enlightened period of time, a ground of the most oppressive dominion ever exercised by man over man.'

"In a speech in the Virginia convention, Mr. Monroe said: 'We have found that this evil' [slavery] 'has preyed upon the very vitals of the union, and has been prejudicial to all the states, in which it has existed.'

“The eloquent Patrick Henry says, in a letter dated January 18, 1773: ‘Is it not a little surprising that the professors of Christianity, whose chief excellence consists in softening the human heart, in cherishing and improving its finer feelings, should encourage a practice so totally repugnant to the first impressions of right and wrong? What adds to the wonder is, that this abominable practice has been introduced in the most enlightened ages. Times that seem to have pretensions to boast of high improvements in the arts and sciences, and refined morality, have brought into general use, and guarded by many laws, a species of violence and tyranny which our more rude and barbarous, but more honest, ancestors detested. Is it not amazing that at a time when the rights of humanity are defined and understood with precision, in a country above all others fond of liberty—that in such an age and in such a country, we find men professing a religion the most mild, humane, gentle, and generous, adopting such a principle, as repugnant to humanity as it is inconsistent with the Bible, and destructive to liberty? Every thinking, honest man rejects it in speculation. How free in practice from conscientious motives! Would any one believe that I am master of slaves of my own purchase? I am drawn along by the general inconvenience of living here without them. I will not, I cannot justify it. However culpable my



conduct, I will so far pay my devoir to virtue as to own the excellence and rectitude of her precepts, and lament my want of conformity to them. I believe a time will come when an opportunity will be offered to abolish this lamentable evil. Everything we can do is to improve it if it happens in our day; if not, let us transmit to our descendants, together with our slaves, a pity for their unhappy lot, and an abhorrence for slavery. If we cannot reduce this wished for reformation to practice, let us treat the unhappy victims with lenity. It is the furthest advance we can make toward justice. It is a debt we owe to the purity of our religion, to show that it is at variance with that law which warrants slavery.'

“‘It would rejoice my very soul, that every one of my fellow beings was emancipated. We ought to lament and deplore the necessity of holding our fellow men in bondage. Believe me, I shall honor the Quakers for their noble efforts to abolish slavery.’”

The feelings of John Randolph, of Roanoke, were not less opposed to the enormities of slavery.

“‘With unfeigned respect and regard, and as sincere a deprecation on the extension of slavery and its horrors, as any other man, be him whom he may, I am your friend in the literal sense of that much abused word. I say much abused, because it is applied to the leagues of vice and avarice and

ambition, instead of good will toward man from love of Him who is the Prince of Peace.' And in congress, 'Sir, I envy neither the heart nor the head of that man from the north who rises here to defend slavery on principle.'

"In the debates of the North Carolina convention, Mr. Iredell, afterward a judge of the United States supreme court, said: 'When the entire abolition of slavery takes place, it will be an event which must be pleasing to every generous mind and every friend of human nature.'"

In the house of delegates of Maryland, in 1789, William Pinkney denounced slavery and spoke for its abolition in the following terms: "Iniquitous and most dishonorable to Maryland, is that dreary system of partial bondage which her laws have hitherto supported with a solicitude worthy of a better object, and her citizens by their practice countenanced. Founded in a disgraceful traffic, to which the parent country lent its fostering aid, from motives of interest, but which even she could have disdained to encourage, had England been the destined mart of such inhuman merchandise, its continuance is as shameful as its origin.

"I have no hope that the stream of general liberty will forever flow unpolluted through the mire of partial bondage, or that they who have been habituated

to lord it over others, will not, in time, become base enough to let others lord it over them. If they resist, it will be the struggle of pride and selfishness, not of principle."

In the state of Virginia, there were societies formed for the abolition of slavery. One of them addressed congress, in 1791, in the following language: "Your memorialists, fully aware that righteousness exalteth a nation, and that slavery is not only an odious degradation, but an outrageous violation of one of the most essential rights of human nature, and utterly repugnant to the precepts of the gospel, which breathes 'peace on earth and good will to men,' lament that a practice so inconsistent with true policy and the inalienable rights of men, should subsist in so enlightened an age, and among a people professing that all mankind are, by nature, equally entitled to freedom."

In 1773, Georgia was equally opposed to the sufferance of slavery, for "in a letter to Granville Sharp, dated October 13, 1776, General Oglethorpe says: 'We (the settlers of the territory) determined not to suffer slavery there. But the slave merchants and their adherents occasioned us not only much trouble, but at last got the then government to favor them. We would not suffer slavery, (which is against the gospel, as well as the fundamental law of England,) to

be authorized under our authority; we refused, as trustees, to make a law permitting such a horrid crime. The government, finding the trustees resolved firmly not to concur with what they believed unjust, took away the charter by which no law could be passed without our consent.’”

And “the representatives of the extensive district of Darien, in the colony of Georgia, in 1775, adopted the following :

“‘5. To show the world that we are not influenced by any contracted or interested motives, but a general philanthropy for all mankind, of whatever climate, language or complexion, we hereby declare our disapprobation and abhorrence of the unnatural practice of slavery in America, (however the uncultivated state of our country or other specious arguments may plead for it,) a practice founded in injustice and cruelty, and highly dangerous to our liberties, (as well as lives,) debasing part of our fellow creatures below men, and corrupting the virtue and morals of the rest; and is laying the basis of that liberty we contend for, (and which we pray the Almighty to continue to the latest posterity,) upon a very wrong foundation. We therefore resolve, at all times, to use our utmost endeavors for the manumission of our slaves in this colony upon the most safe and equitable footing for the masters and themselves.’”

“In 1790, in the name and on behalf of this society,” [the abolition society of Pennsylvania,] “Dr. Franklin, who was then within a few months of the close of his life, drafted a memorial to the senate and house of representatives of the United States, in which he said : ‘Your memorialists, particularly engaged in attending to the distresses arising from slavery, believe it to be their indispensable duty to present this subject to your notice. They have observed, with real satisfaction, that many important and salutary powers are vested in you, for promoting the welfare and securing the blessings of liberty to the people of the United States, and as they conceive that these blessings ought rightfully to be administered, without distinction of color, to all description of people, so they indulge themselves in the pleasing expectation that nothing which can be done for the relief of the unhappy objects of their care, will be either omitted or delayed.

“‘From a persuasion that equal liberty was originally the portion, and is still the birthright, of all men, and influenced by the strong ties of humanity and the principles of their institution, your memorialists conceive themselves bound to use all justifiable endeavors to loosen the bonds of slavery, and promote a general enjoyment of the blessings of freedom. Under these impressions, they earnestly entreat your attention to the subject of slavery; that you will be



pleased to countenance the restoration to liberty of those unhappy men, who, alone, in this land of freedom, are degraded into perpetual bondage, and who, amid the general joy of surrounding freemen, are groaning in servile subjection; that you will devise means for removing this inconsistency of character from the American people; that you will promote mercy and justice toward this distressed race; and that you will step to the very verge of the power vested in you, for discouraging every species of traffic in the persons of our fellow men.'” “And,” says Franklin, “slavery is an atrocious debasement of human nature.”

In the year 1774, Alexander Hamilton thought that “Fundamental of all your errors, sophisms and false reasonings, is a total ignorance of the natural rights of mankind. Were you once to become acquainted with these, you could never entertain a thought that all men are not, by nature, entitled to equal privileges. You would be convinced that natural liberty is the gift of the beneficent Creator to the whole human race, and that civil liberty is founded on that.”

The feelings of John Jay were in abhorrence of it. He claimed that “till America comes into this measure,” [the abolition of slavery,] “her prayers to Heaven will be impious. This is a strong expression, but it is just. I believe that God governs the

world, and I believe it to be a maxim of His, as in our courts, that those who ask for equity ought to do it."

General Warren, who fell at the battle of Bunker Hill, said: "that personal freedom is the natural right of every man, and that property, or an exclusive right to dispose of what he has honestly acquired by his own labor, necessarily arises therefrom, are truths that common sense has placed beyond the reach of contradiction. And no man, or body of men, can, without being guilty of flagrant injustice, claim a right to dispose of the persons or acquisitions of any other man or body of men, unless it can be proved that such a right has arisen from some compact between the parties, in which it has been explicitly and freely granted."

But why occupy space upon this evidence, when it is well known to every intelligent person in this country that the entire northern states, and, with very few exceptions, those of the south, were, at the time of the revolution, decidedly opposed to slavery, as being in repugnance to their feelings of right. Mr. Helper, who has canvassed the opinions of the early Americans on this subject probably as much as any other man, remarks: "Volumes upon volumes might be filled with extracts similar to the above, from the works of the deceased statesmen and sages of the north, who, while living, proved themselves equal to

the task of exterminating from their own states the *matchless* curse of human slavery.<sup>52</sup>

“Massachusetts had abolished slavery. Pennsylvania (1780) adopted a gradual system of emancipation. Also Connecticut, Rhode Island and New Hampshire. In New York, Delaware, Maryland, New Jersey and Virginia, further importation was prohibited. \* \* \* In Maryland and Virginia all restriction on emancipation was removed, and many of the most distinguished citizens were for entire emancipation. Virginia and Maryland were hostile to slavery, and South Carolina and Georgia its advocates.

“In 1774, the first general congress resolved against the slave-trade.

“In 1785, an abolition society was organized at New York.

“Till 1804, even South Carolina passed acts prohibiting the slave-trade.

“In 1784, a majority of six states to three, and sixteen members to seven, was for abolishing slavery after 1800, in the whole of the territories. This proposition was, ‘that after the year 1800, there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of the said states, otherwise than in punishment of crimes,’ etc.”<sup>53</sup>

In seven of the original states, and one<sup>54</sup> admitted

<sup>52</sup> HELPER'S IMPENDING CRISIS.

<sup>53</sup> THE MAKING OF THE AMERICAN NATION, pages 279 and 280. See, also, BLAKE'S HISTORY OF SLAVERY, ch. 22 and 23.

<sup>54</sup> Vermont was admitted as a state in 1791.

into the union almost immediately after the revolution, the moral sentiments were soon enabled to expunge the law of slavery from the legislative code. But six out of thirteen continued in the same condition in which they were placed by the piracies of the previous century. The first propositions of emancipation in the north were met with as much bitterness as they encountered in the south. But the sentiments of the majority of all the different states, except South Carolina and Georgia, at the period of the revolution, were opposed to the institution.

From what can be gathered by the movements of the masses in Virginia, Maryland, Delaware and North Carolina, from agitation of slavery, in these early days of their national existence, we may with fairness conclude, that the moral faculties of the inhabitants had become as nearly restored to a condition of normality, as they were in those of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and the other states of the north. But after the exciting causes of the revolution had passed away, and the attention of the people had become released from its close vigilance over the youthful form of liberty, the mental faculties of the people, in the two different sections of the union, by dissimilar causes, were forced to assume diverse directions, culminating in the production of contradistinguished characteristics.

In 1790, at the taking of the first census, the slave

population of the states of Maryland, Delaware, Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia, amounted to six hundred and forty-two thousand, two hundred and eighty, while in the original states of the north it was only twenty-eight thousand, nine hundred and forty-seven. But in 1820, when Missouri was admitted into the union, the slaves of the former had increased to the number of three millions, twenty-eight thousand and twenty-four, while the same in the latter had diminished to eighteen thousand and one. The old revolutionary states of the north had diminished the number of their slaves more than thirty-three and a third per centum, while the southern states had more than quadrupled theirs. "The increase in Virginia for the last decade," [from 1810 to 1820,] "had been only eight per centum; in North Carolina twenty-one, and in South Carolina thirty-one per centum. The rapid settlement of the southwest had stimulated the domestic slave-trade, and the market was supplied chiefly from Maryland and Virginia, which accounts for the decrease in the former, and the small increase in the latter, state. Slavery in Tennessee had increased seventy-nine per centum; in Mississippi ninety-two, and in Louisiana ninety-nine per centum."<sup>55</sup>

From the revolutionary states of the south much of the increase in slave population had, by the year 1820,

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55 BLAKE'S HISTORY OF SLAVERY, ch. 27, page 498.



been forced westward to the banks of the Mississippi, and northward to the shores of the Ohio river ; so that the vast expanse of land lying between the former and the Atlantic ocean, and extending from the Ohio river to the gulf of Mexico, territory larger than the British isles, France and Germany combined, was devoted, by the controlling influence which slavery had acquired in the government, to this "matchless curse."

In attempting to discuss the various effects which slavery tends to produce in demoralization of a free people in proximity to its locality, one is confounded by its obvious simplicity. We will, therefore, omit it, as of this every intelligent reader must be fully informed. All that is here sought to be understood is the stimulation which the institution affords to work an increased growth of certain mental faculties, the permutated states of which give rise to the different mental phenomena, which have been exhibited in all ages, except in man's primitive condition, and which we now everywhere behold.

It is indisputably observable that slavery generates feelings of bitterness, hatred and revenge in a people who hold their fellow men in bondage. By the same causes they are rendered pugnacious and tyrannical ; given to command from childhood to old age, it steadily produces more fatal effects in the owner than in his bondman. The latter submits to arbitrary

dictation, the former to his vilest passions. With increase of time, under the same influences, there is a continual growth in those propensities which inflict cruelty and wrong upon the slave. The exhibition of these elements most frequently excite corresponding feelings in those against whom they are directed, which, by their expression, stimulates those of the former to more active conditions. Habituated to witness the separation of families, the feelings of compassion are rendered nugatory, and the heart becomes callous to the sufferings of others. The holder is continually at war with himself, the faculties, in his case as in all others when elevated to supremacy, assuming conditions that are self-destructive. Slavery generates licentiousness, theft, robbery and murder. It generates indolence, ignorance, falsehood, perjury and effeminacy; it is the cradle in which are nurtured all the vices of the voluptuary. In fact, it is a fertilizer of every evil which is, or ever has been, known in the world. It has long been considered that "it was born of hell," to be "a hell," a "monstrous institution," a "matchless curse," and "the sum of all villainies."

The nature of the whole institution is inimical to virtue, although the latter may reside in the midst of slavery. It raises the propensities above the moral sentiments, giving them control of the individual.

This condition, rending and decomposing the latter feelings in the great majorities of the slave states, soon left them in complete ruins, the animal nature being the only element which subsequently gave impulsion to individual character and political ambition. Indolence begets desire for sport and entertainment, which, again, demand means to supply gratification. By the continued application of the same objects to the same faculties, those affective feelings upon which they act are gradually developed to a higher state than that which they held before the culture began. The greater the development of those faculties, the greater the desire of action in those faculties, and although they may not be carried to the excess of their own strength, they are almost invariably found to be in excessive contravention of the moral sentiments.

In all countries morality is indigenous with the people, but in a land where slavery exists it soon becomes exotic. The golden rule is abated in all its features, justice a thing not desired, the "terms slavery and right contradicting and excluding each other." It is as much opposed to the material prosperity of a nation as to the virtue of its citizens, substituting poverty for wealth.<sup>56</sup> A land

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<sup>56</sup> The comparison made by Mr. Helper very well illustrates the influence of slavery upon the wealth of nations. He says that "in 1790, when the first census was taken, New York contained 340,120 inhabitants; at the same time

in which injustice is sovereign in administration, is not only checked in its advancement in civilization, but is inevitably forced back of those who hold a higher moral position. Vice tends to prostrate the judicial, the political, the religious, the social, and the pecuniary interests of a people. Thus while those states which emancipated their slaves and extended full political privileges to all, were prospered to an unparalleled degree, others, which adhered to the old system of wrong, fell far behind the contemporaries of their years in possessing themselves of

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the population of Virginia was 748,308, being more than twice the number of New York. Just sixty years afterward, as we learn from the census of 1850, New York had a population of 3,097,394, while that of Virginia was only 1,421,661, being less than half the number of New York! In 1791, the exports of New York amounted to \$2,505,465; the exports of Virginia amounted to \$3,130,865. In 1852, the exports of New York amounted to \$87,484,456; the exports of Virginia, during same year, amounted to only \$2,724,657. In 1790, the imports of New York and Virginia were nearly equal; in 1853, the imports of New York amounted to the enormous sum of \$178,270,999; while those of Virginia, for the same period, amounted to the pitiful sum of only \$899,004. In 1850, the products of manufactures, mining and the mechanic arts in New York amounted to \$237,597,249; those of Virginia to only \$28,705,387. At the taking of the last census, the value of real and personal property in Virginia, including negroes, was \$391,646,438; that of New York, exclusive of any monetary valuation of human beings, was \$1,080,309,216.

"In August, 1856, the real and personal estate assessed in the city of New York amounted in valuation to \$511,740,491, showing that New York city alone is worth far more than the whole state of Virginia." \* \* \* "The cash value of all the farms, farming implements and machinery, in Virginia, in 1850, was \$223,423,315; the value of the same in New York, in the same year, was \$576,631 563."—IMPENDING CRISIS, pages 12, 13 and 14.

Governor Wise said that the "records of former days show that at a period not very remote, Virginia stood pre-eminently the first commercial state in the union; when her commerce exceeded in amount that of all the New England states combined; when the city of Norfolk owned more than one hundred trading ships, and her direct foreign trade exceeded that of the city of New York, now the emporium of the north."—*IBID.*



those advantages which are derivable from a progressive civilization.<sup>57</sup>

While the northern states got rid of some of the external causes of moral degeneracy, the southern not only clung with a pertinacious policy to the old system, but multiplied the complexity of a condition already untenable, by the increase of slavery. That the latter should have remained thirty years, a whole generation, without reversal of moral sentiment, without a change from conscientious scruples against slavery, which they held in 1790, to its endorsement in 1820, would have been almost miraculous. And accordingly they fell willing victims to the delusive flatteries of this system of wrong. From a conscientious denunciation of slavery in 1790, as a "crying evil," in 1820 it became an object of the most tender care. Immediately after the close of the revolution, they publicly urged its gradual emancipation in states where it existed, but when Missouri applied for admission into the confederation, they threatened a dissolution of the union if

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<sup>57</sup> It has been the opinion of many residing in the south, that slavery has not only suppressed the civilization of the people, but has produced a retrogression. James G. Birney, in 1844, when he was one of the nominees for president of the United States, very well expressed this sentiment of a few leading minds in the south. He said:

"Our slave states, especially the more southern of them, in which the number of slaves is greater, and in which, of course, the sentiment of injustice is stronger than in the more northern ones, are to be placed on the list of decaying communities. To a philosophic observer, they seem to be falling back on the scale of civilization. Even at the present point of retrogression, the cause of civilization and human improvement would lose nothing by their annihilation."—HELPER'S IMPENDING CRISIS, page 214.



congress imposed any restrictions upon slavery in this new state. "Beware of the fate of Cæsar and of Rome,"<sup>58</sup> and, "we have kindled a fire which all the waters of the ocean cannot put out, which seas of blood only can extinguish."<sup>59</sup> At the time of forming the federal constitution, they "lamented that some of our eastern brethren had, from a lust of gain, embarked in this nefarious traffic," the African slave-trade. Then it was "essential, in every point of view, that the general government should have power to prevent the increase of slavery."<sup>60</sup> But in 1819, when this power was sought to be applied in the case of Missouri as a restrictive constitutional provision, its advocates were charged with "endeavoring to excite civil war," and that they personally were "no better than Arbuthnot and Ambrister, and deserve no better fate."<sup>61</sup>

In 1776, the south held "that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men,

<sup>58</sup> Speech of Mr. Scott, of Missouri, in congress, in 1819: "Beware of the fate of Rome." Thus at this early day was the political freedom of the people and the republic of the United States of America threatened with destruction.

<sup>59</sup> Speech of Mr. Cobb, of Georgia, in the house, at the time Missouri was admitted. HISTORY OF GEORGIA, page 457.

<sup>60</sup> Speech of Colonel Mason, of Virginia, on provision to inhibit importation of slaves. HELPER'S IMPENDING CRISIS, page 208.

<sup>61</sup> Speech of Mr. Colston, of Virginia, in the house, in 1819.

deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." But in 1820, a portion of the people of the slave states had no rights, in the opinion of their representatives, "and that the proposed amendment, prohibiting the further introduction of slavery," they held to be "unconstitutional."<sup>62</sup> In 1787, "the old congress" passed an ordinance prohibiting slavery in the "North-Western Territory," and it was ratified "by the new congress at their first session" under the constitution; "Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia had, by the unanimous vote of their delegates, approved that ordinance."<sup>63</sup> But in 1820, "several of" [these same] "slave states passed resolutions declaring that congress had no power to prescribe to the people of Missouri the terms and conditions upon which they should be admitted into the union, and that congress was bound in good faith to admit them upon equal terms with the existing states,"<sup>64</sup> in violation of the ordinance made by the old congress, and ratified by the new one, which assembled immediately after the adoption of the constitution.

Although the morals of South Carolina and Georgia, in 1787, had become so abandoned as to endorse and

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<sup>62</sup> Speech of Mr. Tallmadge. BLAKE'S HISTORY OF SLAVERY, page 460.

<sup>63</sup> HISTORY OF POLITICAL PARTIES, page 396.

<sup>64</sup> IBID., page 319.

struggle for an extension of the slave-trade for twenty years, their depravity had not reached so shameless a condition as to attempt to justify or support slavery upon principles of morality and religion. These states then held slaves upon the principle that "might makes right." They had not then arrived at that degree of turpitude which adds hypocrisy to oppression, but boldly avowed that "religion and humanity had nothing at all to do with this question. Interest," said they, "is the governing principle."<sup>65</sup> But in 1820, and thereafter, not only in South Carolina and Georgia, but throughout the whole slave states, the people endeavored to persuade mankind that they were real philanthropists; that slaveholders were doing a genuine service to the blacks; that it was a great blessing to these benighted heathens to be so *tenderly* drawn within the pale of Christian influence, and their *poor darkened souls* saved from the torments which the unredeemed sinner cannot escape. It had now become a blessing to the African that a place existed where he could be purchased and enslaved, for the negroes who were brought across the ocean were lawful prisoners taken in war, and, that had they not been disposed of to the trader, made possible by the planters, they, as such prisoners

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<sup>65</sup> Speech of Mr. Rutledge of South Carolina in constitutional convention of 1787. BLAKE'S HISTORY OF SLAVERY, page 396.

of war, would have been cruelly put to death by their sable conquerors, in conformity to the rules of negro warfare in Africa.

Nor did selfishness and dissimulation stop its effrontery here. Their arguments soon assumed such bearings as tended to justify slavery irrespective of color. Although a vindication of the enslavement of one race is a justification of the servile subordination of all races, the southern people had never before possessed the temerity to approach and thus avow this form of the question. Said they, and that, too, in the halls of congress, did not all the states of antiquity hold slaves? Carthage, Syracuse, Greece and Rome held them, and were they not illustrious nations? The people of Carthage composed and constituted a prosperous and powerful republic existing many hundred years; from Greece, continued they, mankind received the first impressions of profound thought; and what people were more noble than those of Rome? And finally, is not slavery a divine institution? Does not the Bible sanction it? And to support themselves, they said that the Hebrews, after the death of Joseph, were given into bondage to the Egyptians, so remaining for several centuries, and when God saw fit He raised up Moses to lead them out of this lowly condition into the promised land, as He had foretold to their fathers. Were not these

chosen people afterward sent into bondage to the inhabitants of Babylon also, at the instance of divine wisdom, to punish them for the violation of God's commands?

These shallow and shameless arguments were also uttered in the stage-coach, in the social circle, on the stump, in the lecture-room, and in most of the pulpits throughout the south. That there had been some change in the moral feelings of the masses in the north also, is evident from the facts, first, that they had emancipated their slaves, as the tenure being antagonistic to principles of right;<sup>66</sup> and second, that in time after this emancipation, a majority of them repeated these southern arguments, respecting a justification of slavery, as a final conclusion disposing of the whole controversy, and those who attempted to write or speak against the inequitable relations of the friendless and "down-trodden" slave were denounced as "fanatics" and "black abolitionists."

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<sup>66</sup> It appears to us about as weak a position as one can possibly assume, to suppose that the northern states abolished slavery because it was not remunerative in Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey and the New England states. If this were true, why were our ancestors a whole century without discovering it? If it paid to have services performed for reward, it certainly paid better if they were rendered for nothing. At this stage of the case we are told that slaves will not perform the same amount of labor in the same time that free persons will. But this applies as much to the south as to the north. "And northern climate is too cold for the negro;" yet he thrives here as much as the white man, and does as much labor. Our ancestors should have been wise enough, by their long experience, to have discovered this fact. This is of more modern origin. The truth is, the minority in the north were as reluctant to yield up their slave property as would have been Virginians in 1820.



In the constitutional convention of 1787, Virginia, Maryland, North Carolina, and Delaware were deadly opposed to the African slave-trade; and Virginia and Maryland soon passed acts permitting emancipation. In 1778, the legislature of Virginia prohibited the importation of slaves from abroad, or from surrounding states; and four years later all restrictions upon manumission, which had previously existed, were removed, abolition being encouraged.<sup>67</sup> The acts of Virginia planters under the new regulations fully indicated that they were not unequal in quality of humane feelings to the modest and moral condition of their able representatives; for within ten years manumitted slaves became so numerous that their number alarmed the more iron hearted holder. “Maryland *followed the footsteps of Virginia*, both in prohibiting the introduction of slaves, and in removing the restrictions on emancipation.”<sup>68</sup>

In 1831, by the Southampton insurrection, the slave-holders of the south were alarmed for themselves and families. They became awakened to the fact, that things were becoming most delicately complicated; that the family of the isolated planter, surrounded as it was by numerous slaves, was liable to be slaughtered at any moment before succor could

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<sup>67</sup> BLAKE'S HISTORY OF SLAVERY, page 389.

<sup>68</sup> IBID.

arrive. This threatening attitude of forthcoming events moved a few members of the Virginia legislature in favor of the emancipation and exportation of the colored race from the territory. For safety of families, domestic slaves had to be locked out of the house of the master; and it was publicly declared by a few in the legislative halls of the state, that to protect the lives of the people was the principal reason why emancipation should be enforced. The critical state of affairs, the worst of which might be anticipated at any moment, alarmed the most placid incredulity. In the chambers of the state, it was alleged that "many a brave man, who would face without shrinking the terrible array of battle, and with a fearless heart spur upon the cannon's mouth, has felt his blood in icy currents flow back upon its source from the chilling, the fearful thought, that when he should return to the home he had left, he should be greeted, not with the smiles of joy and of welcome, but by the mangled corpses of his butchered family."<sup>69</sup> This movement toward emancipation in the breasts of a paucity of individuals, was directed by the element of fear, and by very little more. It served, however, to discover the feelings of the masses, presenting them to the consideration of the world. This insurrection served to show also that, although the masses were stirred to their

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69 RISE AND FALL OF THE SLAVE POWER IN AMERICA, vol. 1, page 196.

depths at the dangerous relations which they held to the colored race, they were little actuated by feelings of humanity toward their slaves. Whatever movement was made toward emancipation, it amounted to nothing, for, "looking to ultimate emancipation and expatriation, however remote and gradual, it alarmed the slaveholding aristocracy which had so long ruled Virginia, and which at once took the alarm. Discussion," [of the abolition of slavery in the legislature, which had taken place,] "sternly frowned upon, ceased. Most of the men, prominent in this debate," [favoring emancipation,] "were either placed under the ban of the slave power, or were compelled to placate it by succumbing to its behests, disowning their own words, and becoming the active agents in defending what they once so severely condemned."<sup>70</sup>

From the moral status which Virginia held in 1787, by the just condemnation of slavery as a crime of horrid villainy, the masses had become sufficiently changed to add sacrilege to hypocrisy and oppression, in falsely charging to the Author of Christianity the sanction and endorsement of human bondage. During this debate upon a prospect of gradual emancipation, it was held that slavery was not an evil, and "Mr. Burr" [an influential member] "denied the sinfulness of slavery; said there were more than forty millions of

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<sup>70</sup> RISE AND FALL OF THE SLAVE POWER IN AMERICA, vol. 1, page 196.

slaves at the beginning of the Christian era, and that Christ saw them in their wretchedness, and, although he came into the world to rebuke sin, he did not condemn slaveholding;" meaning that by His silence He acquiesced, countenanced and supported slavery.<sup>71</sup> Nor was this sacrilegious feeling, that slavery is justified upon a religious foundation, confined to the south. The pernicious sentiment had penetrated the north, finding millions to endorse it, and among the thousands to advocate it was the best scholar of the age. Edward Everett, whose checkered career unfolded the double policy of his life, in congress alleged that, "the great relation of servitude," [the right of agitating the slavery question being in discussion,] "in some form or other, with greater or less departure from the theoretic equality of man, is inseparable from our nature. Domestic slavery is not, in my judgment, to be set down as an immoral and irreligious relation. It is a condition of life as any other to be justified by morality, religion, and international law."<sup>72</sup>

In considering the demoralized condition of a separate people, it would, at first, appear that they could fall to no lower grade of depravity than to endorse the "highwayman's plea," that "might makes right."

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<sup>71</sup> RISE AND FALL OF THE SLAVE POWER IN AMERICA, vol. 1, page 196.

<sup>72</sup> *IBID.*

But there are far lower states of demoralization to which a people can be plunged. South Carolina and Georgia, in 1787, as we have seen, justified themselves on the right of the stronger; but subsequent to the admission of Missouri, their attitude on the slavery question indicated that, in the feelings of the people, there had been a change for the worse; and that the tendency of their moral faculties, during a period of half a century, had been downward, reaching a lower parallel. A change had been wrought, but not for the better. Instead of a frank avowal of wrong resting upon power, acknowledging the right of revolution, (the right of the oppressed to become the oppressor,) their character had so differentiated as to couple to the above the elements of a time-serving and accomplished hypocrisy. Other pernicious feelings than those of the freebooter had made their appearance in the characteristics of their inhabitants, and posited themselves upon the ruins of justice and of reason.

The lead of these extreme southern states was followed by all slaveholding portions of the union; and to South Carolina and Georgia, in a small measure, are to be attributed the decline of morals in the rest of the south. In 1787, when all the rest of the southern states desired some plan adopted by which manumission could be effected, South Carolina and Georgia, if slavery were interfered with, if the African slave-trade



were estopped by constitutional provisions, would withdraw from the old federal compact, not ratify the new constitution then in process of formation, and hold independent national existence. To cement the thirteen nationalities into one, concessions were yielded by the northern states, and the fallen principles of extreme southrons triumphed over the moral sentiments of eleven larger and far richer states. Although, in the constitutional convention, the representatives of the rest of the southern slave states felt insulted at being forced to associate in convention with Carolina and Georgia delegates, who openly professed piratical principles, in 1835, the former endorsed the sentiment of the latter, when they alleged that slavery "in all its bearings was a blessing," being justified by both morality and religion.<sup>73</sup> So rapid had been the decline of morals in the four other southern states, that it is to be believed that they took the degree of hypocrisy as soon South Carolina and Georgia. Those sublime moral principles which ruled Virginia in 1787, had become practically annulled in 1838; and John Quincy Adams thought that "it is not an occasional ebullition of popular passion and feeling which marks the contrast

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<sup>73</sup> Compare the speech of Mr. Rutledge, of South Carolina, in the constitutional convention of 1787, (BLAKE'S HISTORY OF SLAVERY, page 386,) with the speech of Mr. Thompson, from the same state, endorsed by the entire southern delegation, in the house of representatives, in 1835, (RISE AND FALL OF THE SLAVE POWER IN AMERICA, vol. 1, page 347.)

between the sentiments of the fathers and the slaveholding doctrines" of their immediate descendants. "It is the perversion of intellect, the degradation of man to the standard of the brute, which marks the American school of servile philosophy." And he alleged that were George Washington and Thomas Jefferson alive, and "should dare to show their faces, and to utter the self-evident truth of the Declaration within the state of South Carolina, they would be hanged."<sup>74</sup>

After the African slave-trade had been formally prohibited by the United States, it was secretly carried on by the slave-holders of the south. But worse than this was the domestic slave-trade, which sprang up in the more northern of the southern slave states. The horrors of the domestic, it has been averred by those who were acquainted with all the features of both, were more afflicting to the feelings of compassion than those of the African, slave-trade. Those states of the south, which once so earnestly desired emancipation, considering slavery too heinous an evil to be countenanced by any "but the uncivilized tribes of central Asia," before the admission of Missouri, became the great marts from which divided families, in gangs, wound their way in anguish to the sugar and cotton plantations of the gulf states. "Maryland, the

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<sup>74</sup> RISE AND FALL OF THE SLAVE POWER IN AMERICA, vol. I.

District of Columbia, and Virginia, became the seat of the disgraceful traffic, the head-quarters and field of operations of those who, in the prosecution of their terrible business, here sought its victims and furnished supplies for the southern market. So cruel and shameless did the trade become, that many masters themselves, and defenders of the system, revolted at such demonstrations" of inhumanity, "and entered their earnest protests against the logical sequences of their own theories. John Randolph denounced it as inhuman and abominable, and moved for a committee of investigation, but nothing ever came of it. Even the governor of South Carolina, in a message to his legislature, denounced 'this remorseless and merciless traffic, the ceaseless dragging along the streets and highways of a crowd of suffering victims to minister to insatiable avarice.'"<sup>75</sup> Throughout Kentucky the domestic slave-trade was stimulated to an unusual activity. It is fortunate for historians that human feelings cannot be so extinguished from the mind as to *reduce* every individual to the level of degenerated brutality. They exist in all ages, countries and races, and, by their strong action upon individual being, produce vigorous expressions of disapprobation at the barbarous cruelties which the depraved portion of mankind are prone to commit.

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<sup>75</sup> RISE AND FALL OF THE SLAVE POWER, vol. 1, page 99.

From the sad features of the domestic slave-trade these outspoken sentiments of a Presbyterian synod pronounced the system of American slavery an "iniquity;" that in the state of Kentucky "there" was "not a village," it said in complaint, which "does not behold the sad procession of manacled victims."<sup>76</sup> "Mr. Paulding, afterward Mr. Van Buren's secretary of the navy, thus describes a party of these northern slaves, which he met in 1815, sold for the southern market. 'In a cart,' he said, 'tumbled like pigs, were half a dozen half-naked children, who seemed to have been actually broiled to sleep, followed by scantily clothed women, without shoes or stockings, and men, bare-headed, half-clad, and chained together with an ox-chain,' followed by a white man with pistols in his belt. A southern editor wrote of the same kind of procession as 'with heavy, galling chains riveted upon their persons, half-naked, half-starved,' these victims of man's unfeeling rapacity were traveling to a region where 'their miserable condition will be second only to the wretched creatures in hell.'"<sup>77</sup> "Nor were these rare, extreme, exceptional cases. They were the order of the day. The border states had become slave-breeding communities, making the raising of slaves a special and fostered interest. A

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<sup>76</sup> RISE AND FALL OF THE SLAVE POWER, vol. 1, page 99.

<sup>77</sup> *IBID.*

Baltimore journal said: 'Dealing in slaves has become a large business; establishments are made in several places in Maryland and Virginia, at which they are sold like cattle. These places of deposit are strongly built, and well supplied with iron thumb-screws and gags, and are ornamented with cow-skins, oftentimes bloody.' Mr. Gholson said that much of the wealth of the slave-breeding states was produced by this traffic. Professor Dew, afterward president of William and Mary College, in a review of the great debate in the Virginia legislature, in 1831-32, on the slavery question, felt called upon to answer the objection that this traffic would depopulate Virginia of its black population, which he did by saying that it added largely to its revenues, and thus 'becomes an advantage to the state; and does not check the black population as much as at first view we might imagine, because it furnishes every inducement to the master to attend to the negroes, *to encourage breeding*, and to cause the greatest number possible to be raised. \* \* \* Virginia is, in fact, a negro-raising state for other states.'

"Now when it is remembered that this was not spoken in the heat of debate by a political partisan, but written by a cultivated, scholarly man in the calm retirement of his study—an educator, too, of young



men in the venerable college of his state—discoursing of slave-breeding and slave-selling as if they were mere matters of political economy, precisely as he would write of raising stock and improved breeds of cattle, coolly putting the two abhorrent ideas together, the one as indecent as the other was inhuman, and arguing that the stimulus thus given to slave-breeding was an adequate compensation for the losses incurred by slave-selling, something of the moral tendency of the system he defends and advocates may be estimated.” The historian continues to say that “what gives its deepest shading to this dark picture is the fact that this increase was secured by a persistent ignoring of the family relation, that these slaves were born out of wedlock, and were the fruits of a promiscuous concubinage. If this were the style of thought and feeling pervading the upper strata of society, the sentiments of the lower classes must have been simply horrible, and the utter social demoralization which the rebellion revealed ceases to be a matter of wonder. In the prosecution of this terrible business, by the confession of the slave-traders themselves, the family tie was disregarded, and infants were taken from the mother’s arms, while she was sold and they retained. And this traffic had become so enormous, that in 1836 it was estimated that the number sold from the single state of Virginia was forty

thousand, yielding a return of twenty-four millions of dollars.”<sup>78</sup>

A people who have arrived at conditions which enable them to endure with calmness, and without indignation, the sights which American slavery presented to the beholder in districts where it existed, have descended to degrees of doubly degenerated brutality, of which no rational person would desire to be possessed, the external and horrible effects of which the most transcendent genius must, by the limits of human reason, fail to comprehend. So low had already fallen the moral faculties in a people who once would have rejected with disdain anything bearing against principles of equity and compassion; who once would have scorned to be classed by the naturalist in the same species with those possessing the turpitude to furnish, in and from themselves, facts which so strongly tend to establish the proof of total depravity in mankind.

The sovereignty which the moral faculties exercised over the feelings of the southern people at the close of the American revolution, (1783,) had been usurped by the propensities by 1820, the passions of which were everywhere exhibited, and to which, with very few exceptions, the next generations in the south became still farther subdued.

After the animal faculties had completely triumphed

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<sup>78</sup> RISE AND FALL OF THE SLAVE POWER, vol. 1, page 101.

over the moral powers in the mentality of the south, and the mind of the people left in anarchical ruins, the activity of the propensities pointed and determined the character of the people. Duels, premeditated murders, fire-eating fanaticism, licentiousness, the sales of sons and daughters of vendors, marked the character of both sexes of the white race in the southern slave states. Had these elements of the nether world confined their influences for evil to southern territory, it had been far less detrimental in its effects to the welfare of the Great Republic. But southern statesmen, at the instance of their constituents, thrust these decayed principles upon the north, so that upon old towns, made memorable by love of liberty, such as the city of Boston, where for more than a century political struggles were maintained against Stuart oppressions, the pugilistic, the thug-like principles of the south were imposed.<sup>79</sup> So much had southern degeneracy been absorbed by the high and low, rich and poor, of the free states, that it became not only unpopular and disgraceful, but extremely dangerous, for persons to favor by public expression, the cause of the persecuted blacks.<sup>80</sup>

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79 Consult HISTORY OF RISE AND FALL OF SLAVE POWER, vol. 1, pp. 384 and 385, in which is related the manner in which a meeting was broken up that had assembled to give expression of indignation at the murder of Elijah P. Lovejoy.

80 Wherever abolition meetings were held in the north, the mob law violence of the south prevailed in them, outraging the persons of men, and in some instances those of women.—IBID., *passim*.

The movements of the masses in base subserviency to southern qualities, is well illustrated by the action of the authorities, elected by a majority of the voting population, of the city of Boston after the murder of Elijah P. Lovejoy. When intelligence of it reached this old city "Dr. William Ellery Channing and a hundred of its citizens applied for the use of Faneuil Hall to give expression to their horror at this murder of a Christian clergyman. But their application was rejected. This refusal, and especially the reason assigned therefor, greatly increased the popular indignation and apprehension; affording, as it did, but another illustration of the national vassalage and subserviency to the slave power, when even the doors of the cradle of liberty were rudely closed against those who would mourn over the martyrdom of one of its honored and most heroic defenders. Men of all parties and sects were greatly excited.<sup>81</sup> With the fearlessness demanded by the crisis, Dr. Channing addressed an appeal to the citizens of Boston to reverse this arbitrary action of the city government. Avowing that the purpose of the proposed meeting was to maintain the sacredness of the press against all assaults, he declared that to intimate

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<sup>81</sup> I think the historian is mistaken in supposing the indignation to have been very extensive, as it occurred in 1837, the proportion of abolitionists to whigs and democrats, who supported at this period the slave power, being very small.

that such action did not express the public opinion of Boston, and that it would provoke a mob, was to 'pronounce the severest libel upon the city. Has it come to this?' he asked. 'Has Boston fallen so low? May not its citizens be trusted to come together to express the great principles of liberty for which their fathers died? Are our fellow citizens to be murdered in the act of defending their property and assuming the right of free discussion? and is it unsafe in this metropolis to express abhorrence of the deed? If such be our degradation, we ought to know the awful truth; and those among us who retain a portion of the spirit of our ancestors should set themselves to work to recover their degenerate posterity.'"<sup>82</sup> Therefore, the old city of Boston, at this time, was ruled by the principles which predominated in the south. If such were the condition of morals in Boston, what must have been that of the rest of the north?

As the elements of north African depravity passed from Carthage to Rome two centuries before Christ, in like manner, twenty centuries afterward, the same, after having decomposed the moral faculties of the southern people, were transferred to do the work of death to the causes of the moral sentiments in the northern masses. Although the southern people manifested growths of

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<sup>82</sup> HISTORY OF RISE AND FALL OF SLAVE POWER, vol. 1, pages 383 and 384.



prosperity and power, they were the vigorous productions of those propensities which, on the eve of a nation's fall, seldom fail in astonishing us with the prodigy of their actions. Such, however, are but the "struggles of pride and selfishness,"<sup>83</sup> not those of moral principles. And there are facts on which mankind fail to take correct distinctions. The progress of depravity and of virtue, the apparent of the one, the real of the other, are so misunderstood by the entire population of the world, that their predictions of the careers of nationalities are sure to result to them in the disappointment of their hopes and expectations.

After these causes of the moral degeneracy of the south had completed the ruin which they were adapted to effect in that section of the union, their secondary forms entered the free states to stifle the activities of the causes of compassion and of the sentiments of justice in the mentality of their inhabitants.

It produces sorrowful feelings in an American who loves his country, to contrast the noble, the god-like condition of the southern mind at the revolutionary epoch to that depraved and fallen one which it had reached fifty years afterward. That the noble principles which actuated the inhabitants of these states in

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<sup>83</sup> The phrase is from one of the fathers of the republic from the South, predicting the nature of the military prowess which southern people would exhibit if slavery should long continue in the territories.

their resistance to European aggression, should, in so short a period, cease to influence their immediate descendants in territories where they had existed in such potency; that a people in whom, a locality in which, the solemn fortitude of the humane qualities was once in such vigorous proportions as to force to revolution all the despotisms of the white races in Europe, should be in mortal repose in half a century, can justly challenge the world for a contrast of equal magnitude. The fathers of the republic from the four southern slave states, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia and North Carolina, were scarcely in their graves, when the piratical principles of the Bourbons, of the Hapsburgs, and of the Braganzas, controlled the feelings and actions of their posterity.

Although slavery was abolished as a military necessity during the "great rebellion," it had possessed being among the southern people sufficiently long to leave the moral faculties in complete desolation. In the six southern revolutionary states, and in the south-western ones admitted into the union in time afterward, by 1835, republican sentiments had fallen and given place to those of anarchy and despotism. By that year the republic in the southern half of the United States had become a nullity, its formal existence being dragged along till 1861, by the elements of freedom existing in the non-slaveholding states of the

north. Although the people in this one portion of the territory of the United States could render no support to the republican sentiments of the nation, for lack of republican qualities, it was only a prostration of about one-third of the vital power of freedom in the great confederation.

END OF VOLUME I











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